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INDIA

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Pressler Unintentionally Backs Indian Stand

92WP0157A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 14 Jan 92 p 14

[Editorial: "Beyond Pressler"]

[Text] The net effect of the assessment of the nuclear situation in the subcontinent presented by Senator Larry Pressler at New Delhi press conference at the weekend is that there is a dangerous asymmetry because Pakistan has a readily deployable cache of horror bombs while India has not. Although this could not have been his intention, his comments would give a tremendous fillip to Indian advocates of an explicit nuclear capability. They would make the valid argument that India must not leave itself unprotected against a possible Pakistani threat, more so, after the hints it is said to have dropped in the summer of 1990 to U.S. shuttle diplomat Robert Gates, who now heads the CIA, that an Indian escalation on the conventional plane would invite immediate nuclear retaliation. Successive governments have so far allayed public misgivings by offering the bland assurance that Indian forces will never have to fight an unequal war but this may no longer suffice. Bomb advocates were, as it was, demanding a less ambiguous declaration of a matching capability and they would now cite the Pressler certificate of India's nuclear virtue to press their case. In this, they will have the powerful support of not only the BJP Bharatiya Janata Paarty] but also of concerned groups across the entire political spectrum. There is no gainsaying the need for very careful thought by the Government to evolve an appropriate answer consistent with the overriding national interest in safeguarding the country from nuclear blackmail. In a matter of such immense import, the Rao team will have to work for a consensus on the basis of consultations, necessarily confidential, with all major parties.

In judging what national interest requires, it will be a tragic mistake not to take into account the strength of international sentiment against proliferation. While we cannot indeed put our security in jeopardy to keep in the good books of friends, however powerful, there is also no case for rejecting out of hand any ideas for preventing a nuclear conflict. The argument that it is too late to think now in terms of stopping because the Rubicon has already been crossed is indeed weighty but it is not conclusive. All restraints, including such detailed and intensively policed one, like Salt-II are in essence confidence-building measures because their effectiveness depends in the ultimate analysis on each side desisting from evasive subterfuges. Signing the non-proliferation treaty is no doubt meaningless in the South Asian situation; a nuclear-free zone too will be a misnomer. But the case for a solemn agreement not to be the first to use the bomb still remains valid, not least because it will be in keeping with India's passionate pleas for outlawing horror weapons.

Political Leaders Urged To Heed U.S. Senator's Warning

92AS0575A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 25 Jan 92 p 4

[Article by Sunit Ghosh: "Are India's Arab-Loving Political Leaders Listening Carefully to What Pressler Had To Say?"]

[Text] The U.S. Senator Harry Pressler did good work and acted like a friend. He cautioned us by saying that the Muslim fundamentalist countries might unite against India. And that if this happens, India would face a grave situation, because many of these countries have nuclear weapons. According to Pressler's assessment, these countries are the six central Asian countries of the former Soviet Union namely, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Kirghizia, Tadzhikistan, and Uzbekistan, plus Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey. If these ten countries are united, India has sufficient reasons to be concerned.

If the timing were different, it might have been better to take the words of Pressler with a grain of salt. Because, in the past, opposition to Muslim fundamentalism was never viewed as part of the U.S. foreign policy. Washington not only supported the Muslim fundamentalist countries, it also strengthened them militarily by supplying modern arms and ammunition. All the countries in the Arab world, who are America's allies, are basically fundamentalist nations. America used its full strength to suppress Iraq on behalf of these countries. After defeating Iraq, the secular and democratic America is trying to assist in every possible way to make a fundamentalist country like Saudi Arabia strong and powerful. So, the leftists and the progressives of India would try to look for an imperialist conspiracy in the words of Pressler. The Indians, who are accustomed to following the policy of appeasing the minorities, might not want to believe that the fundamentalist Muslim countries could united endanger India's sovereignty. And, they would be unhappy about Pressler's remarks for another reason. Though they may not object to the identification of Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey as fundamentalist countries, they cannot believe that the six former Soviet Union countries and the socialist Nazibullah-ruled Afghanistan are fundamentalist countries. If it is to be accepted that these former Soviet Union republics, really secular and socialist in character even after remaining 70 years under the socialist rule of Moscow, would not make the change, it would naturally cast a serious reflection on the mentality of the 150 million Muslims living in India. Maybe, this kind of doubt would be proven as baseless. Because the Indian Muslims do not have any kind of similarity of character and ideals with those of the Muslim fundamentalists of Arab and Central Asia. It must also be noted at the same time that even after 45 years of India's partition into theoretically two nations based upon religion, a portion of Indian Muslims still gives more importance to the question of religious affinity with the Islamic countries outside the boundary of India.

After the introduction of the policy of 'openness' in Soviet Russia and the opening of the doors of the churches and mosques over there, the Muslim-majority six republics of Central Asia took up the flag of the curved moon rejecting the red flag. The people officially put their religious identity in the governmental documents which was prohibited in the communist rule. Several new mosques and churches were built. As a demonstration of the government's recognition of the principle of religious freedom, a group of Muslim devotees from the cities of Moscow, Kazan, Tashkhand, Baku etc., were sent to Mecca on a special flight for 'Haj,' which was unthinkable a decade ago. On 21 March 1990, after almost 72 years, the republic of Uzbekistan declared the festivity of 'Naoraj' a government holiday. The rich Arab nations of West Asia were waiting for such an opportunity. With huge amounts of petro-dollars, the representatives of the Sheikhs went to those countries to tempt these once-communist countries to join the fundamentalist camp. It did not take much time to influence the starving people of this region. Being completely linked up with the socioeconomic structure of the former Soviet Union, these countries may not come out immediately of the newly formed 'Commonwealth,' but it can be said positively that they will give more importance to their fundamentalist entity in the near future. Under those circumstances, Pakistan would be their best friend and not India.

There may be some other reasons for this new American realization about the activities of the Muslim fundamentalist countries. The Gulf war and the dissolution of the Soviet Union created a new distribution of power in the field of international politics. America, the number one power in the world, is, naturally, anxious to create a new camp by establishing close ties with China, the Muslim world, and the so-called Third World countries. No one can say when the 'Cold War' would begin again in a new form. If it happens, there is no reason for Europe, America, or the other democratic countries of the world to remain silent. According to Brian Bidham, the respected analyst of the 'ECONOMIST' of London, wrote that the land stretching from Kazakhstan of Central Asia to Morocco of Africa and Mauritania, which is populated mainly by the Muslims, might be the stage for this new 'Cold War.' According to him, America, the winner of the 'Cold War' against the socialist world, might have a hot-and-cold relationship with Europe and Japan on the issue of economic policy, but their relationship would not be really strained before 2010. There is no chance of a serious crisis in East Asia despite the fact that North Korea has nuclear weapons. The domestic problems might be an obstacle for India to emerge as a great power in South Asia. After the shrinkage of the socialist world and the end of apartheid, Latin America and South Africa would be busy with their own business of trade and commerce. So, the land from Kazakhstan to the north coast of Africa through the Persian Gulf and Suez canal (except Israel) remains as a Muslim populated zone. This zone will remain as a troubled zone for many different reasons. Almost all the countries of this zone

are poor except a handful of wealthy oil producing nations. There is no democracy in any country except Turkey. These countries do not have the ability to keep the people happy. The fundamentalists are dreaming about conquering the world with the help of the believers in their 'ideals'. The people are, in general, emotional. The autocrats are ready to use Islam both as a flag and as a weapon to fulfill their own vested interests. The relationship between Islam, Christianity, and Europe had never been normal since the time of 'Zihad' of the medieval period. Even now, the Muslim fundamentalist sometimes shout 'The Devil belongs to West.' The Europeans are concerned about the influx of thousands of people from the poor Muslim nations. If Europe closes the door, the neighboring Muslim countries would try to break the door open. As a result, there would be unavoidable trouble.

This is a one-sided picture. On the other side, Europe and America fear that the fundamentalist nations like Libya, Iraq, and Iran with the help of China would not only try to foil the efforts of bringing permanent peace in the Middle East through the use of terrorism, but one day it might even attack America. Now, Pakistan is eager to join the Islamic camp without caring about how America feels about it. While the powerful Europe and America are not feeling secured, it is natural that India also would not feel secured. One needs no evidence to say that India does not have any real friend in the Muslim world. The Kashmir issue is an ample example. The conference of Muslim countries (OIC) held this past December in Dakar, the capital of Senegal, made it obvious, during its discussion of the Kashmir issue raised by Pakistan, on which side they favor. Saudi Arabia and Iran had helped Pakistan in its aid to the terrorist activities directed against India. After Europe and America adopted a different position, Pakistan has tried hard to get support from the fundamentalist countries. Recently, Sardar Asim Ahmed Ali, minister of state of Economic Affairs in the Pakistani Government, led a delegation to the Muslim countries of Central Asia and promised to provide financial and technical help to those countries. Within a short period of time Pakistan sent ambassadors to those countries to strengthen relationships. In the face of these events, the presence of 10,000 Pakistan trained guerrilla in the Kashmir valley (as reported by government sources) is a matter of great concern and on this premise lies the importance of Pressler's remarks. But will the Arab-loving and minority-appeasing leaders of India learn anything from the important and alarming remarks made by Pressler?

Analyst Urges Expanded Military Relationship With U.S

92AS0578A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 28 Jan 92
p 4

[Article by Banvari: "What Is the Harm in Assistance From America?"]

[Text] The talks about India-U.S. defense cooperation that began last year culminated with the visit of

Lieutenant General Johnny Connors, commander of the Pacific command, last week. During his visit, the talks focused mainly on the Kicklighter plan to increase U.S.-India defense cooperation. Very little was explained by the Indian Government about this plan. It is possible that the government is worried that defense cooperation between the two countries could be interpreted in various ways and could be used for an unwanted political purpose. The kind of intolerance we had in our foreign policy in the past shows that such concerns are not unfounded. However, the government did not play a minor role in establishing such partiality. Now that our foreign policy is changing direction, we must discuss all new aspects openly.

These prejudices in our foreign policy started during the time Jawarhalal Nehru. In spite of his anti-Western attitude, Jawarhalal Nehru was always partial to the United States of America. Perhaps, he was just copying the attitude of the European aristocracy about the United States of America. It is said, however, that because of his so-called socialist insistence, he was opposed to the United States, which was the leader of Western capitalism. He leaned toward the Soviet Union rather than the United States of America, even though he wanted to keep India out of both blocs. It was convenient for him to do so because of the campaign for a neutral bloc. European liberals played an important role in this campaign, and Nehru was perhaps influenced by them.

One result of this foreign policy was that India did not pay any attention to defense preparation. There could be some internal reasons for the impracticality of our defense preparations. During Jawarhalal Nehru's time, the government did not want the armed forces to emerge as a strong power. Perhaps they thought that democracy should first be stabilized all over the country, so that it would become strong. Other areas, they felt, should be developed after this task was completed. During this time, however, China attacked India, and the embarrassing defeat in that war told everyone of the neglect in our defense preparation.

After learning its lesson in the war with China, India showed alertness in training its armed forces and in procuring arms. Still, in order to keep our image as that of a neutral nation in world politics, we kept our efforts in the area of defense very limited. The government also rejected proposals of military cooperation with other countries. Later, the 1962 war with China and the 1965 war with Pakistan made us aware of our defense challenges. The kinds of relations that both countries had with the United States of America made the defense challenge even more serious for us. Because of this challenge, Indian leaders thought it important to establish friendship and cooperation with another superpower, the Soviet Union, in 1971. However, we did not establish a specific relationship with the Soviet Union over military cooperation.

The reason for this is that because of its policy of remaining neutral, India tried to prove that it was not involved in any race for military buildup. It is good that India was forced to work on its nuclear preparations because of the nuclear programs of Pakistan and China. India was careful and made sure that its nuclear program did not appear to be for defense purposes. We have been very careful about our missile program also, and our progress in this area has been satisfactory. However, we still lag in the area of defense needs. Defense preparations have become very costly at present, and it is natural for India to feel this deprivation. In order to procure these defense implements, a common method is exporting arms. It seems that our foreign policy has not helped here, either. China, which is far behind us in technological development, is far ahead in the exportation of arms.

The policy of neglecting the armed forces alone is changing now; however, the government has been careful about giving a clear indication of it. The strongest indicator of this policy is the acceleration in U.S.-India defense cooperation program. It should be remembered here that this cooperation did not begin at our insistence; the United States initiated it. When the Soviet Union decided to reduce its armed forces in order to alleviate its economic problems, and present to the United States of America a proposal to destroy nuclear installations, the United States also began to rethink about its own defense strategy. The U.S. leaders knew that if the Soviet Union threw away its superpower cloak, then it would become difficult for the United States of America to have its military supremacy over the world.

This problem for the United States is not only political but also economic. The United States began to reduce its defense machinery in Asia and Europe. The U.S. defense experts believe that the United States should emphasize cooperation with regional military powers, instead of having a worldwide U.S. military buildup. Based on this new policy, the United States has decided to emphasize military cooperation with many countries around the world. This U.S. cooperation has already started with several countries, and communist China is one of them. The United States offered similar cooperation to India and incidentally, India accepted it.

The outline of this military cooperation was prepared last June. At that time, the commander of the Pacific command was Lieutenant General Kicklighter; therefore, the plan was called the Kicklighter Plan. According to this plan, both India and the United States of America were to send their military heads to visit the other country to exchange know-how, schedule meetings, inspect each other's military exercises, and cooperate in military training. To this end, an Indo-U.S. working committee was also established. All of this is related to the military cooperation between the two countries. India cannot become a part of U.S. defense strategy just because of such cooperation.

India's cooperation should also start with other military powers in addition to the United States of America. Modern technology is very important in today's military preparation, and we cannot ignore all the new developments in this area that are taking place all over the world. India does not only have to think in context of neighboring China and Pakistan, but also has to keep in mind the new Islamic military policies emerging in western Asia. At this time, there are just some fears, but these fears can be realized at any time. We must keep all these factors in mind when planning for defense.

There has been no major progress in cooperation between India and the United States in the navy and the air force. We are sensitive about our navy. The United States spends a lot of money on research in both areas and expands its military technology all the time. India can benefit from this research because of its increasing cooperation with the United States of America. The United States is interested in this cooperation for economic reasons also. It needs new markets for its military technology.

There are two kinds of criticism aimed against U.S.-India military cooperation. One is that this cooperation was started at U.S. initiative, and India is under pressure because of the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and it can come under U.S. military pressure at this time. If there really is such a danger, then we should be prepared for it on our own. Our political and military leadership should have the self-confidence to keep India's autonomy in the area of the military. It is unwise not to cooperate with the United States of America just because of this fear.

The other criticism is based on the U.S. goal to fight a slump in its military markets. It wants to sell its weapons to India under the guise of cooperation. The United States naturally has the interest to sell arms to India. American politics are dependent mostly on its trade interests; however, this does not mean that the only reason the United States wants to increase military cooperation with India is to sell its weapons in order to reduce its trade recession in this area.

The critics of this cooperation are correct in that the United States had stopped military aid to Pakistan under the Pressler Amendment, but Pakistan is still the greatest beneficiary of the United States of America in the military area. We should not expect the United States to eject Pakistan from its military policy in one step. We can have relations with the United States of America, keeping our political interests in mind, and whenever we see that the U.S. policy on Pakistan is against our national interests, then we can act as necessary.

This does not mean that India should give up its autonomy in the area of defense and start establishing relationships with various military powers in the world. We should not hesitate in playing a role in the present world structure. No country can function with theoretical policies alone. It has to depend on practical rules and

policies in this practical world. This practicality demands that we relinquish the prejudices of Jawarhalal Nehru's time, look at the world differently, and recognize our role in it.

U.S. Notification Under 301

Center Reacts

92AS0691A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 29 Jan 92
p 1

[Article by R. Chakrapani: "U.S. Notification on Action Under Special 301"]

[Text] Washington, 28 January—About a month before the 26 February deadline for completing negotiations with India on unfair trade practices under provision 301 of the U.S. Trade Act, the office of Mrs. Carla Hills, U.S. Special Trade Representative, called for comments on "acts, policies and practices" concerning enforcement of intellectual property rights to determine if retaliatory trade sanctions against India is called for.

A press release issued by the Trade Office yesterday listed complaints of denial of market access conditions by India to U.S.-made motion pictures.

The Indian Embassy, commenting on the notification, said, "it is entirely in accordance with the U.S. laws" and a routine action. It said discussions were continuing with the Trade Office on all the issues connected with the negotiations. "There has been a meeting ground on some of the points. On the others, discussions are continuing."

"While at this stage one cannot predict the outcome of the investigations, it must be emphasised that U.S. retaliation is not something automatic. We on our part hope that this will not happen."

Negotiations with India and China were begun by the Trade Office on a variety of issues but recently China sorted out its problems and possible retaliatory trade action which may take the form of high tariff at the United States end against some of the specified Chinese export dropped. Negotiations with India are continuing both at Washington and at New Delhi.

The Trade Office chose India for investigations alleging there were deficiencies in India's intellectual property acts, policies and practices including. [sentence as published] It said there were deficiencies in India's intellectual property protection, especially product patent protection for U.S. pharmaceuticals. It complained of restrictions and lack of adequate protection for trade marks.

Delhi Not Surprised

92AS0619A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 29 Jan 92
p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 28 January—The U.S. notification has not caused "any undue concern to India."

According to highly-placed sources, the fact that such a notification was to be issued anytime to make India fall in line with the U.S. patent regime has not surprised the government. In a sense it has "neither added nor subtracted" India's position on patents. It was explained that the notification will not go uncontested and if not the Indian Government, many others including trade and commerce bodies both in India and the United States might file objections.

For instance, it was stated that major multinational companies like IBM and General Motors facing serious recession at home compelling job cuts might also be expected to file objections. But it remains to be seen whether such speculation made on behalf of select U.S. companies would work because it did not in the case of China, also named under Special 301. China ultimately succumbed to the U.S. pressure on product patents and has agreed to implement the law with effect from 1 January 1993.

However, an essential difference between India and China was the fact that while India's position vis-a-vis United States was not merely bilateral but also multilateral because of its membership in GATT, it was purely bilateral for China as it was not a GATT member. In view of this essential distinction, the sources expected the differences between India and the United States on intellectual property right issues covering food, chemicals and pharmaceuticals to take some more time before an honourable settlement or agreement could be reached.

Papers Report Rao Activities at UN

Speech Reported

92AS0677A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 1 Feb 92 pp 1, 9

[Article by Subhash Chakrabarti: "Rao Rejects Bush Plea on N-Free Zone"; quotation marks as published]

[Excerpt] New York, January 31—The U.S. President, Mr George Bush, during his 30-minute meeting with the Prime Minister [PM], Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, accorded high priority to India co-operating with Pakistan in the proposed five-nation conference to facilitate declaring South Asia as a nuclear weapons-free zone.

The meeting, which took place at the Waldorf Astoria hotel, was marked by frank exchanges on nuclear, security and bilateral issue. Mr Rao maintained the Indian position on nuclear non-proliferation and expected Mr Bush to appreciate that this sensitive issue could not be discussed in a vacuum. He urged Mr Bush to take up the issue in a larger world perspective.

Later, Mr Rao, in his address to the historic first-ever summit of the Security Council, while underscoring the need for democratic reforms of the world body, suggested wider representation in the Security Council to ensure its moral sanction and political effectiveness.

Mr Rao explained that as the composition of the general assembly had trebled since its inception, the size of the Security Council could not remain constant any longer. He urged the members of the Security Council to seek consensus scrupulously avoiding the temptation to dictate for quick results. Besides, while prescribing norms and standards for national or international conduct, the Security Council must accept those norms for itself.

He warned that while implementing its resolutions in good faith, it was incumbent on the Security Council to anticipate all the consequences of its decisions. Mr Rao was extremely forthright about the prevailing campaign for human rights. He explained that he had profound respect for those who were crusading for the protection and preservation of human rights.

He particularly mentioned about India's 5,000-year-old record of non-invasion and non-annexation of alien territories with the shining example of a powerful monarch like Ashoka turning into an apostle of non-violence. Having stated this, Mr Rao said India could not countenance a situation where all human rights were reserved only for the practitioners of terrorism. Governments dealing with this menace were arraigned day and night on grounds of violation of human rights—real and imaginary, mostly the latter.

"I am fully conscious of the obligations of the state in preserving human rights, as contrasted with terrorist and secessionist elements killing innocent citizens with impunity. What is really being suggested at this meeting is perhaps to delineate the parameters that harmonise the defence of national integrity with respect for human rights. In this view, India is ever willing to discuss and contribute in the endeavour."

He expressed concern at the move by some to intimidate the United Nations by seeking to create uniform international norms for human rights, such as absolute preconditions for interaction between states and societies in the political or economic spheres. The world body should endeavour to work towards a just and fair world order and to encourage countries to move towards universal norms of human rights.

During his meeting with Mr Rao, Mr Bush expressed concern at the ramifications on nuclear proliferation following the break-up of the Soviet Union. He thought India could play a meaningful role in helping the world community to contain nuclear proliferation.

Mr Bush and Mr Rao, who are staying at the same hotel, met two hours before the first ever summit of the Security Council was due to meet to discuss a new role for the United Nations in the changed world environment.

Mr Narasimha Rao made it clear that the Pakistani proposal to declare South Asia a nuclear free weapons zone was inadequate since India shared a border with China, which had nuclear weapons. All that India

wanted Mr Bush to appreciate was that it was not against non-proliferation, but it should not discriminate against India.

Interestingly enough, Mr Bush for some reasons cut down his meeting with the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr Li Peng, by ten minutes and their meeting lasted only 20 minutes. There is a considerable media campaign against China's record on human rights and Mr Li's visit here seems to have raised reservations.

Mr Bush's interest in the Pakistani proposal for declaring South Asia a nuclear weapons free zone was expected by the Indian side. Encouragingly, however, the exchanges on bilateral issues were thought to have been extremely meaningful. This was Mr Rao's first meeting with the American President since he became the prime minister.

The two leaders particularly expressed satisfaction at the level of economic cooperation between India and United States. They also expressed satisfaction at the narrowing down of differences on multilateral issues.

They did not elaborate any further on what is seen closer understanding on global issues. Mr Rao also had a meeting with the new United Nations secretary general, Mr Butrus Ghali. Mr Rao is due to meet the Chinese prime minister, Mr Li Peng, tomorrow.

At his speech, Mr Rao while dealing with nuclear proliferation, admitted the issue had assumed a qualitatively and frighteningly new dimension. While sharing these concerns, Mr Rao cautioned that measures of preventive or punitive action on a selective basis would not achieve the desired results.

He suggested that the only logical route available to the world was to pursue a global approach, based on a new international consensus on non-proliferation.

At the summit meeting, Britain proposed a compromise draft to accommodate Indian and Chinese reservations on certain contentious issues.

The compromise aims at altering disarmament provisions and proposed amendments to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty [NPT] of the first draft to ameliorate Indian reservations, British sources in London said.

Moreover, the sources said, the wording on human rights and democracy in the original draft, considered mild by the western countries, might also call for alteration to be acceptable to China, the sources said.

The first draft spoke of formulations on NPT, human rights disarmament, role of United Nations as peace-keepers and preventive diplomacy to contain war.

The PM, Mr Rao, has said that India was against making human rights a precondition to development aid.

'We respect human rights. But we do not accept one version which makes it a precondition to developmental assistance,' Mr Rao told reporters aboard the special plane on way to New York.

Mr Rao was reacting to the human rights formulations in the revised draft declaration prepared for the Security Council summit by the British Prime Minister, Mr John Major.

Mr Rao said India may have reservations about some of the provisions of the revised draft. "We are studying it," he said.

Meanwhile, the Russian President, Mr Boris Yeltsin, arrived late yesterday for the summit set to focus on the post-cold war era. [passage omitted]

Meeting With Bush, Others

92AS0677B Madras THE HINDU in English 2 Feb 92
p 1

Article by K. K. Katyal]

[Text] New York, Feb. 1—Though India was opposed to a discussion in the five-nation framework on nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia, it was prepared for talks on the subject with the United States. That was what, according to official sources, the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, told the U.S. President, Mr. George Bush, at their meeting yesterday.

The five-nation proposal, commended by Mr. Bush for Mr. Rao's acceptance, envisaged talks between India and Pakistan, along with the three nuclear powers, the United States, the former Soviet Union, and China. Since the Soviet Union had disintegrated after the proposal was first mooted, India would like to know, in bilateral talks with the United States, the validity of the proposition, according to Mr. Rao.

The Prime Minister completed his hectic round of consultations today with a meeting with his Chinese counterpart, Mr. Li Peng. Yesterday, he also held talks with the Russian President, Mr. Boris Yeltsin, the British Prime Minister, Mr. John Major and the Belgian Prime Minister. Officials made no attempt to hide the differences with the United States on issues such as regional non-proliferation and India's worries on certain aspects of economic cooperation, but said it was not insurmountable. It was considered significant that, despite the Security Council ambience, the two leaders discussed bilateral matters. Mr. Rao mentioned Pakistan's nuclear capability to Mr. Bush and Mr. Major.

Mr. Yeltsin, who was expected to visit India in March-April, apart from other things, to sign the new Indo-Russian treaty, will now be able to undertake the trip only in September or October, because of his preoccupations at home. Meanwhile, the Russian Deputy Prime Minister will go to New Delhi in the next six weeks to sort out economic problems and work out arrangements for the interim period.

Mr. Yeltsin utilised the opportunity to clarify that the Russian stand on Kashmir was the same as that of the former Soviet Union. He thus sought to dispel the misunderstanding caused by the Russian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Ruskoi's comments on the subject during his recent visit to Pakistan.

Mr. Major and Mr. Rao apprised each other of the situation in their respective countries. Punjab was one of the issues mentioned by Mr. Rao, Europe by Mr. Major. Responding to Mr. Major's query, Mr. Rao said that though trouble was expected in Punjab, the election there would proceed as scheduled. Did he envisage a way out in Kashmir? Mr. Major asked Mr. Rao and was told that a compromise was possible only within the framework of the Simla Agreement.

The Belgian Prime Minister gave a detailed briefing on the integrative process in western Europe and sought to dispel apprehensions about a "European fortress."

Meeting With Li

In another look at the bilateral problems, Mr. Narasimha Rao, and the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Li Peng, who met here today agreed to give a political directive to the Joint Working Group now seized of the the boundary issue.

They re-confirmed their view that peace and tranquillity be maintained along the Line of Actual Control and that the situation there be reviewed periodically.

This was considered necessary for the functioning of the Joint Working Group due to hold its next meeting in Delhi in February or March. The Joint Committee on Economic Cooperation is also to meet soon. In the series of bilateral exchanges the two leaders noted the plan of the President, Mr. R. Venkataraman, to visit China in May.

UNI reports:

The spokesman quoted Mr. Rao having said to Mr. Bush, "We see your concern and we share it in a larger sense. We are willing to discuss it bilaterally with the United States. As a first step. But, I am not ready to go straight into the five-power conference.

When a reporter interpreted India's non-participation in the five-power summit as rejection of the whole idea, he asserted: "My Prime Minister did not say I do not want to meet the five powers and I will not talk to them" "That would have been rejection," the spokesman said.

Further Details

92AS0677C Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
2 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by Shekhar Bhatia: "New Treaty With Russia To Replace Indo-Soviet Pact"]

[Text] New York, Feb. 1—A new Indo-Russian treaty to replace the defunct 1971 treaty will be signed by President Boris Yeltsin when he visits India end-September or early October.

The draft of the treaty was discussed at the meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao and Mr Boris Yeltsin, both of whom were here for the summit meeting of the United Nations Security Council.

While the new treaty will incorporate almost all the elements of the old one, there will be a major difference: the three security clauses of the old treaty have been abridged into one because both nations feel that they are not relevant in a post-Cold War world.

Though Mr Rao did not raise the question of the Russian stand on Jammu and Kashmir, Mr Yeltsin on his own said that there will be no change in Russian policy that India's stand on Kashmir will continue to get Russian support.

During what the spokesman described as "warm, close, tangible and substantial" discussions, Mr Yeltsin told Mr Rao that his country will continue its old relations with India.

As an indication of its intentions, Mr Yeltsin is sending his first Deputy Prime Minister for economic affairs to India later this month to sort out the remaining trade and economic problems and lay the foundation for long-term arrangements.

Mr Yeltsin was first scheduled to visit New Delhi in December and then in March, but because of the problems in his country, he has deferred the trip to end-September or early October.

The Russian leader has been at centrestage in New York from the moment his plane landed here two days ago, spending most of his time declaring his commitment to a free market and luring foreign investment. He has also been stressing his commitment to democracy, saying the last 10 political prisoners were freed a few days ago.

The state of the economy appears to be Mr Rao's prime concern too, and he has taken it up during his meetings with President Bush, a group of non-resident Indians, the British Prime Minister, Mr John Major, and with Belgium to assess the potential in Europe after the integration and whether it would lead to a "fortressed Europe." Mr Rao was assured by the Belgian Prime Minister that Europe will continue to need Indian goods.

Although President Bush and Mr Rao have differences on approach to nuclear non-proliferation, these differences are not coming in the way of the improving economic relations. On the contrary it was indicated that even on the two nations' attitude to global trade negotiations, the differences that they have will be sorted out.

Mr Rao also had an hour-long meeting with Mr John Major, but the talks were mostly on domestic policy, the

election in the United Kingdom, the coming elections in Punjab and the situation in Jammu and Kashmir.

Agencies add: The Indian Prime Minister will leave New York tomorrow morning to attend the world economic forum meeting at Davos.

The Pakistani Prime Minister, Mr Nawaz Sharif, is already there to participate in this annual congregation of world business leaders and decision-makers.

This will give Mr Rao an opportunity to discuss bilateral issues with his Pakistani counterpart.

The two leaders last met for the Commonwealth summit at Harare in October, where they had underlined that they would redouble efforts to resolve bilateral issues.

Mr Rao is likely to try to allay Western fears about India's "irreversible" programme of economic liberalisation.

Rao Addresses European Businessmen in Zurich

92AS0674A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 3 Feb 92 p 1

[Text] Davos (Switzerland), February 2—The Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, today invited western entrepreneurs "to test the waters of our substantial domestic market" and assured them that India has now become a good field for foreign investments following the liberalisation measures undertaken by his government, reports PTI.

Addressing a gathering of leading European industrialists in Zurich, soon after he arrived from New York to participate in the annual World Economic Forum meeting in Davos, the Prime Minister guaranteed the foreign investors his government's encouragement in a vast range of industries.

Mr Rao outlined the changes in India's industrial policy and the measures taken to integrate the Indian economy into the global economy and dispelled all fears about the continuance of the programme of policy reform.

The Prime Minister said the process of economic reforms was irreversible and reflected the broad consensus in India and that all the major political parties were fully behind the government in its pursuit of throwing open the economy to foreign investments.

Mr Rao said: "Some western firms are sceptical of investing in India and take the plea that the 51 percent limit on foreign equity holding in high priority sectors amounted to perpetuation of government control over free enterprise."

Many western companies view the Indian position on services like insurance, banking and financial institutions and security trading as protectionist and a major hurdle in foreign investments coming to India.

The Prime Minister said the process set in motion to integrate the Indian economy more closely with the world economy was an ongoing process and the government was working towards greater flexibility in its economic policies.

Papers Report Rao Speech, Remarks at Davos Forum

Warning on Nuclear Weapons

92AS0671A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 4 Feb 92
p 1

[Text] Davos (Switzerland), Feb. 3—The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, today warned against an attempt to perpetuate nuclear arsenals and other weapons of mass destruction in the hands of "a few countries" who justify this on the basis of the need for "policing."

"The concept of policing is not quite safe and this may become counterproductive in the long run," Mr. Rao said in his speech at the plenary session of the World Economic Forum here.

Besides, the Prime Minister said, one must guard against East-West confrontation being transformed into a new type of North-South confrontation.

Mr. Rao said that despite the end of the Cold War and of the confrontation between rival military alliances, nuclear weapons and other arsenal of mass destruction still remained in substantial numbers.

The Prime Minister's apparent criticism of the nuclear weapon states is seen in diplomatic circles as an answer to the mounting pressure on India from Washington to sign the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty which New Delhi has always described as discriminatory.

Historic Opportunity

Mr. Rao said a new and historic opportunity was now available to nations of the world to bring about a new structure of international relations in a free atmosphere. They could now usher in a structure which was equitable, democratic and responsive to the needs of humanity as they were formed on the ground.

"There is now an opportunity to put into place a genuine system of collective security based on a more active role of the United Nations," he said.

Referring to his meeting with the Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif here, Mr. Rao said at a press conference later that it was part of a confidence-building exercise to normalise relations between the two countries and not to clinch an issue.

Face-to-face talks always resulted in better understanding, Mr. Rao said. This was his third meeting with Mr. Sharif and had helped in their understanding each

other better. This was also the view of Mr. Sharif who also felt that "we should exchange views more frequently."

Mr. Rao agreed with a questioner that both Indian and Pakistan should cut defence expenditure.

Yesterday's meeting covered a wide gamut of subjects including the sensitive Kashmir issue. "We reviewed the international situation and discussed the fallout of the recent meeting of the Security Council," Mr. Rao said.—PTI, UNI

Other Matters Noted

92AS0671B Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
4 Feb 92 p 4

[Text] Davos (Switzerland), Feb. 3 (PTI)—The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, today invited world industrialists to invest in India, assuring them of all facilities, but also told them investments would have to be subject to the "needs of our people."

"India is a huge market. If you go down to the people, it is mind boggling," he told the captains of Western business, industry and banking at the World Economic Forum here.

Addressing the plenary session, Mr Narasimha Rao declared that the process of economic reforms set in motion by this government was irreversible. "It is a revolution. And, therefore, there can be no going back on it. In fact, it is going to be accelerated," Mr Narasimha Rao said.

Giving an outline of the changes in India's industrial policy and the measures taken to integrate the Indian economy into the world economy and to make it globally competitive, the Prime Minister made it clear that the reform process was not something sudden. It was, rather, the outcome of the revolutionary process India embarked on 40 years ago through a planned economy, Mr Rao said.

Mr Rao said the economic reform process in India must be seen against the background of its ability. In the 40 years of planned development, of its agriculture to the extent that it is not only self-sufficient in food for its vast growing population, but has a modest surplus in most years.

The economic liberalisation process, the Prime Minister said, was the logical continuation of the strategy of development adopted by India. It was a process necessary to take India to a new and higher level of growth.

Budget: "I do not know what would be India's budget for 1992-93," the Prime Minister told the forum's president, Mr. Klaus Schabe, who wanted to know what type of economic and fiscal reforms India proposed in the coming Budget. "I am collecting relevant information and passing it on to my finance minister, who is a very secretive person," he said, amid peals of laughter.

Among the challenges faced by India, Mr. Rao listed terrorism, religious fundamentalism and secessionism.

While talking about the liberalisation and the new world order he said, "We accept the need for a much wider role for the market principle. There should be a congenial environment for entrepreneurship. And there should be fewer controls on economic activity.

"Nevertheless, for countries where poverty and destitution are pervasive, the state cannot absolve itself of the responsibility to involve itself in economic decision-making. It has to accept the responsibility to ensure a minimal degree of social welfare to its people," Mr. Rao said.

Mr Schabe, who had expressed concern on behalf of industrialists about the current rate of inflation in India was assured by the Prime Minister "all that is needed to be done to bring down inflation is being done."

Mr. Rao also spoke of his government's efforts to cut down expenditure. "We are slashing it in a manner that does not displease the effected persons," he said.

Consensus: The Prime Minister, in his extempore remarks, also touched upon political issues. In reply to Mr. Schabe, who had described his government as a minority one, Mr. Rao said, "Numbers do not count. As far as I am concerned, even if I secured majority in Parliament, I will still follow the path of consensus."

Mr. Rao told the meeting, "Consensus is not my innovation. Nor is it my creation. It is a way of Indian culture. It is in line with my tradition."

Referring to the minority character of his government, the Prime Minister said, "It is not the time in India to rule by sheer majority. You may get votes to become a majority. But you can't win the hearts of the people. We want a consensus for willing cooperation of the people. It is the essence of my tradition. Therefore, I am willing for that."

Ideological threat: The Prime Minister warned against the danger of a new ideological orthodoxy replacing the old and prescribing rigid models for vastly different situation prevailing in different countries.

"In case of Indian society, an individual is important, but at the same time there is a strong sense of community interest as well," he said.

Reaction on Foreign Investment

92AS0671C Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
4 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by Shekhar Bhatia]

[Excerpts] Davos (Switzerland), Feb. 3—The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, today assured leaders of world business and industry that there will be no more nationalisation in India. He even hinted that his government might allow 100 percent foreign equity

ownership in India, but initially will decide the areas depending on the needs of the people. [passage omitted]

Mr. Narasimha Rao was asked coldly why a foreign company should come to India, given the past experience of nationalisation. What is the protection guarantee for foreign investments?

His answer was categorical: "We won't nationalise industries. We have enough of them. We don't want to add to them."

Question: Will the Indian government allow 100 percent foreign equity?

Answer: "There should be no difficulty, but investment decisions must consider the needs of the people."

Mr. Narasimha Rao recalled his earlier talks with the group of businessmen when he told them that 100 percent foreign equity in the fertiliser industry was fine by him, but if it was for the manufacture of lipsticks in India, it would have to wait. He, however, assured the delegates from business and industry that he would give them whatever concessions they wanted.

Question: We suffer because the biggest problem is your bureaucracy.

Answer: Bureaucracy is both an obstacle and an asset... I have no difficulty in getting my programmes implemented, and my programmes are what matter... I do not sign on dotted lines. I change the dotted lines. I prescribe what is good for India, and the bureaucracy will understand that. You take my word for it."

Asked if reducing the budget deficit to five percent of the GDP [gross domestic product] was his objective, Mr. Rao said: "Yes. What the textbook says should be done will be done."

The Prime Minister said he would welcome any foreign company "which gives me infrastructure." He was forthright and his performance impressive. Remarked Mr Klaus Schwabe, the president of the forum: "In my opinion, India has the right Prime Minister at the right time."

The Prime Minister said he had come here "on a pilgrimage... I want to know what you expect of India."

He said if there was anything to be done by him, he would give an assurance "here and now," and added, "Unlike many other politicians, being straight has paid off for me."

Indo-UK Aid Talks End, UK Grants Reported

92AS0628A Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English
24 Jan 92 p 13

[Text] New Delhi—The United Kingdom will provide India aid worth nearly Rs.[rupees]579 crore in 1991-92, including substantial support for oil imports worth about Rs. 150 crore.

The three-day Indo-UK annual aid discussions concluded here on Thursday with the signing of the minutes and agreements for grants totalling Rs. 86 crore, which would be used for imports of turbochargers and rheostatic brakes by the railways and of longwall equipment by the Singareni Collieries Company Limited and for a school health project in Andhra Pradesh, says an official release.

The Indian delegation at the talks was led by Mr. Deb Mukharji, joint secretary in the Finance Ministry and the UK delegation by Mr. Richard Manning, head of the Asia desk of ODA (Overseas Development Administration).

All assistance from ODA is in the form of grants. The United Kingdom is India's third largest bilateral donor, and the single largest source of bilateral grant assistance.

The aid profile is well balanced between infrastructural sectors (railways), coal, mines, power, oil and natural gas and social sectors (urban development, education, drinking water supply, agriculture, environment, health and family welfare).

Official Comments on Relations With Israel

92AS0627A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 30 Jan 92 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 29 January—India will establish full diplomatic ties with Israel. Embassies will be opened in Delhi and Tel Aviv as soon as the modalities are finalised by the two governments. Likely dates have not so far been fixed, but Israel has been assured that it could do so as soon as it wanted.

Announcing the decision, less than 24 hours before the prime minister, Mr. P.V., Narasimha Rao, leaves for New York for the U.N. Security Council summit called by the British Prime Minister, Mr. John Major, the foreign secretary, Mr. J.N. Dixit, denied there was any link between the two events. He said that the decision was taken after the prime minister had consulted a cross section of the opposition leaders, including Mr. L.K. Advani, before the announcement.

Mr. Dixit said that the Israeli mission in Bombay has already been informed and the message conveyed to Tel Aviv and Moscow, where the Israeli foreign minister, Mr. David Levy, has arrived for the West Asia peace negotiations.

The foreign secretary said that all normal communications between the two countries would now be open. The telecommunications ministry had been informed a week back that direct dialing facilities with Israel would soon be established.

The upgrading of ties between India and Israel has been on the anvil for quite some time. The government has been working on this for several months, but delayed it till consultations with all political parties had been

completed. The possible impact of such a step on the sentiment of Muslim nations was also taken into account.

The fact that the Palestinian president, Mr. Yasser Arafat, had no objection to it was an added factor. The PLO leader felt that India's participation in the West Asia talks would be possible if full diplomatic relations were established.

China has recognised Israel and paved the way for participation in the discussions. Israel has openly said that unless full diplomatic ties between India and Israel were established, this country cannot be a part of the peace process.

Washington had also made it clear to New Delhi that it would have to upgrade its relations if it hoped to take part in the peace talks.

The foreign secretary denied that today's announcement had any link with India's desire to participate in the West Asia negotiations. Answering a question, Mr. Dixit said Mr. Arafat's go-ahead had nothing to do with New Delhi's decision. He said "we do not need a green signal from Mr. Yasser Arafat or anybody else to take a decision. These issues are decided by our political leadership and based on their judgement of what has to be done."

Mr. Dixit, however, said that the government was interested in all processes contributing to peace in West Asia. Asked if New Delhi would participate in future rounds of peace negotiations, he said it would do so if invited. As yet there was no indication in this regard.

The former external affairs minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, welcomed the decision, saying it would help India play a more meaningful role in solving the West Asia crisis and begin the process of close-cooperation between the two countries.

The Janata Dal MP [member of Parliament], Syed Shahabuddin, said the decision at this juncture was neither morally nor politically defensible.

German Economic Delegation Head Meets Press
92AS0691A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
5 Feb 92 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 4—The German industry today offered to set up joint ventures in the automobile, chemical, capital goods and agro-processing industrial sectors in India.

Addressing a press conference, the president of the Federation of German Industries, Mr Heinrich Weiss, however, said they would like India to deregulate the household sector and allow foreign companies to manufacture cars, consumer goods, and electronic items.

Mr Weiss, who is here on a three-day tour to assess the investment climate in India, said since the industrial

policy did not allow investment in the car business, Germans would be interested in making India a source for supplying component parts for the German automobile industry. He said if there was a ban on cars, the Germans could always manufacture trucks and buses.

Speaking on the wide-ranging economic and trade reforms initiated by the Narasimha Rao government, Mr Weiss said India offered an ideal environment to woo direct foreign investment.

He said the hi-tech of German industry coupled with the low cost of Indian labour could provide the competitive base for setting up joint ventures between the two countries.

Mr Weiss, who met the finance minister as well as the commerce and industry minister, submitted a list of 25 specific areas to the government seeking further liberalisation in investment, trade and financial policies.

The Germans sought 100 percent equity participation for foreign companies, abolition of negative list, elimination of foreign currency acquisition requirements by exports and removal of restrictions on capital goods imports for setting up a new joint venture.

The delegation also sought an early revision of FERA [Foreign Exchange Regulations Act]—lifting of the ban on commercial activities by foreign corporations and prohibition on real estate acquisition. It also sought an early formation of the exit policy, liberalisation of imports and banking activities and revision of labour laws.

Mr Weiss said in spite of limited capital availability India could still become an "interesting country," because of its large local market. He said it was necessary for the Germans to explore India so that it could pre-empt possible Japanese and Korean investment and ensure itself an Asian market presence.

Speaking on the flow of investment between the two countries, Mr Weiss said, "Investment is a two-way traffic and Germany is keenly interested in Indian investment in erstwhile East Germany, which is now undergoing massive reconstruction."

He said Germany after unification was now facing tremendous pressure on its available investible fund as its first priority was to make substantial investment in erstwhile East Germany in order to bring it at par with the rest of Germany.

Manmohan's statement: The Union finance minister, Dr Manmohan Singh, informed the delegation that India would be willing to consider 100 percent foreign equity participation in certain areas on the merits of the investment proposals, report agencies.

Dr Singh said this would have to be subjected to the capital investment being covered by equity participation and in case of dividend repatriation, it should be balanced by exports.

He said he was hopeful of bringing the tariff rates to the level comparable with the rates in other developing countries. Dr Singh indicated that as soon as the balance of payment situation becomes comfortable even these restrictions would be removed.

Papers Report Portuguese President's Visit

25 Jan Banquet

92AS0622A Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English
26 Jan 92 p 11

[Text] New Delhi—The Portuguese President, Mr. Mario Soares, assured India on Saturday that Portugal as current head of the European Community [EC] would do "all in its power" to ensure that the EC will not forget the developing world despite the additional commitments it has undertaken in East Europe.

Speaking at a banquet hosted in his honour by the president, Mr. R. Venkataraman, the Portuguese leader praised India's economic reforms as a "good sign" which would certainly place India where it deserves—within an increasingly interdependent market.

Mr. Soares expressed similar sentiments while speaking to correspondents shortly after he arrived in New Delhi for an eleven-day state visit. Noting that the EC was India's biggest market as well as its largest supplier, he said he hoped that India's close ties with the EC would grow in the years to come.

He also underlined the need to improve bilateral ties, saying, "We are going to make a large effort."

This is the first visit to India by a Portuguese Head of State. For Mr. Soares the visit is a personal trip down memory lane in addition to its political significance. Not only did he help to reestablish diplomatic ties between India and Portugal in 1975, he also has a lot of friends in New Delhi and Goa with whom he shared prison cells in Lisbon. He was fighting for democracy in Portugal, and his Goan friends were fighting for the liberation of Goa.

The Minister of State, Mr. Eduardo Faleiro, he recalled nostalgically in his banquet speech, is the son of an old friend of his father.

Mr. Soares plans to visit his old friends during his spare time. He will spend three days in Goa apart from visiting Jaipur, Cochin, Bombay, Daman and Diu.

His official engagements included the Republic Day parade, at which he will be the Chief Guest, talks with the president, the vice president and the prime minister and a meeting with Indian business representatives in an effort to tap the trade and commercial potential of bilateral ties.

He is accompanied by a large delegation which includes the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Jose Barroso and Under Secretary of State for Cultural Affairs, Mr. Antonio Lana.

Proposing a toast to the visiting Portuguese leader at the official banquet in the evening, Mr. Venkataraman stressed, "We count on the continuing support of Portugal which has traditionally had a special understanding of the problems and aspirations of the developing countries."

27 Jan Press Conference

92AS0622B Madras *THE HINDU* in English 28 Jan 92
p 9

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 27 January—Endorsing India's stand against terrorism in Punjab and Kashmir, the visiting Portuguese President, Mr. Mario Soares, said that Portugal was opposed to terrorist violence in the two states.

Replying to questions at a press conference here today, Mr. Soares said the issue of terrorism which Portugal opposed in principle had figured specifically in the context of Kashmir and Punjab during discussions with the prime minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, and the foreign secretary.

Mr. Soares said during his stay he had held a meeting of Ambassadors belonging to European Community countries to specifically discuss terrorism.

Reflecting on his visit to India, Mr. Soares characterised it as being of historic importance. The landmark visit during which he held 'open and frank' talks with the prime minister and the Foreign Minister had established a 'qualitative leap' in strengthening ties, he added. India and Portugal reestablished diplomatic ties in 1975 only after a democratically elected government in Portugal assumed power replacing the erstwhile dictatorship of Antonio Salazar.

Consulate in Goa: Mr. Soares said he had obtained Mr. Rao's consent to open a consulate and a cultural center in Goa—apparently one of the primary tasks of his visit but the decision was pending formal approval of the government.

The Portuguese president said during his stay, Portugal had signed a number of trade and commercial agreements including the establishment of joint ventures in 'traditional sectors' including textiles and footwear. Additionally, the two countries signed an agreement related to beverages, paper, pulp, plastic moulds. Portugal would also export ornamental items to India.

Moreover, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) and Portugal's Institute of Foreign Trade signed an agreement on an information exchange programme. Further, during discussions with a FICCI delegation on Sunday, Mr. Soares invited Indian industrialists to visit Portugal to explore further possibilities of joint ventures.

Replying to a question related to human rights violations in East timor. Mr. Soares emphatically demanded the

restoration of human rights and implementation of U.N. resolutions in the territory. He clarified that in regard to East Timor which is its former colony till it was annexed by Indonesia in 1976, his country only demanded establishing international law there and held no other claims. Incidentally, in a letter to the U.N. General Assembly's Special Committee on Decolonisation in 1989, Portugal protested against an agreement on oil exploration in resource rich East Timor between Australia and Indonesia. Claiming East Timor a non-autonomous territory under Portuguese administration, it has accused Indonesia of flagrantly infringing international law.

No future for communism: Mr. Soares met the Lok Sabha Speaker, Mr. Shivraj V. Patil and other MP's [members of Parliament] in Parliament House. When asked to comment on his perception towards the phenomenal changes in the international situation, he said while he believed that communism had no future, socialism as an idea continued to live.

Japanese Suggest Economic Policy Reforms

92AS0624A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 29 Jan 92 pp 1, 17

[Text] New Delhi, 28 January—The high-level Japanese economic mission today presented to the government a 21-point list of "requests" for further policy reforms to create conditions for higher Japanese investment in India.

Listing out specific changes in India's investment, trade, and fiscal policies being sought by the Japanese companies, the leader of the visiting delegation, Dr. Rokuro Ishikawa, told the 23rd Indo-Japanese Business Cooperation Committee that the "requests" might sound harsh. But "I am convinced that you too have your own requests to Japan." He made it clear that there were many other countries which offered attractive conditions as trade and investment partners and, therefore, India must provide a competitive policy environment.

Dr. Ishikawa said the list had been prepared on the basis of a detailed study both in Tokyo and Delhi before the Japanese government despatched this high-level mission of businessmen. He said the policy reforms already undertaken by the Indian Government had been applauded in Japan and according to a recent survey, 11 of the 53 companies that answered the questionnaire were contemplating investment in India and 25 others were interested in studying investment possibilities. Some further policy reforms, however, needed to be introduced for improving economic ties between India and Japan, he added.

The list included investment policy changes so as to abolish the restrictions on foreign equity participation currently pegged at 51 percent, delinking of profit repatriation from export earnings, removal of restrictions on capital goods imports for new joint ventures, early revision of FERA [Foreign Exchange Regulations Act] to

incorporate recent policy changes and to further liberalise provisions governing commercial activities of foreign corporations and real estate acquisition.

Dr. Ishikawa also underlined the need for the early formulation of an exit policy, removal of restrictions on "emergency imports," reduction in import tariff, relaxation of import licensing, priority in budget allocation for improving industrial infrastructure such as power and telecommunication sectors, relaxation of restrictions on industry location, reduction in protection for small-scale industry and abolition of restrictions on banking activities.

The minister of state for commerce, Mr. P. Chidambaram, and the member of the planning commission, Dr. V. Krishnamurthy, assured the 50-member Japanese business team that most of the policy reforms suggested by Dr. Ishikawa were very much on the agenda of the government.

Mr. Chidambaram said the government subscribed to the GATT principles of free trade and firmly believed that controls on trade must be removed and the tariff rates brought down. He said the new trade policy announced in July last had already removed 90 percent of the controls and licensing restrictions, the balance ten percent would go at the end of the current financial year. On 1 April, a new import-export policy would be made effective which would put imports of all raw materials, capital goods and components on the free import list, only to be governed by tariff.

Mr. Chidambaram explained that India had an acute balance of payments and foreign exchange reserves problem and, therefore, some quantitative restrictions on imports might have to be maintained till the situation improved.

Mr. Chidambaram noted that Japanese investment in India had been a meagre 0.03 percent of that country's global investment. He said Japanese companies in the past had been more interested in mere technical collaborations. He invited Japanese businessmen to make equity investment in India not only in manufacturing sector but also in infrastructural facilities like power, telecommunications and ports.

Mr. Chidambaram said on the trade front, the two countries should diversify the narrow base of products and services. He said India's exports to Japan had been mostly confined to only three items; iron ore, shrimps and diamond. Similarly, Japanese exports mainly comprised machinery and project goods. He felt that the two-way trade turnover, which has stagnated around U.S.\$3.5 billion over the last five years, could be increased by diversifying the export baskets.

Sino-Indian Joint Working Group Meeting Ends

92AS0698A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 22 Feb 92
p 9

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 21—The two-day discussions between the officials of India and China which ended here today confirmed their resolve to maintain—and consolidate—peace and tranquillity along the border. But whether their efforts to resolve the differences on the boundary would need a political directive from the top remained an open question.

They finalised the modalities of the contacts of military personnel at the border. With that the informal process would be institutionalised. Discussions also centred on other confidence-building measures. It was agreed to have regular meetings of the local commanders in June and October every year at Bumla Pass in the eastern sector and the Spanggar Gap area in the Western Sector. There would be telephone link to facilitate easy contacts. Apart from the regular meetings at the designated points, they could get together whenever the need arose.

This was the fourth meeting of the Joint Working Groups [JWG], set up in December 1988 during the then Prime Minister [PM] Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China. The discussions were picked up from the earlier round with an added sense of urgency. The Indian delegation was headed by the Foreign Secretary, Mr. J.N. Dixit, and the Chinese team by the Vice Foreign Minister, Mr. Xu Dunxin.

A joint statement, issued in the evening, said the talks were held in an "atmosphere of mutual understanding and were frank, positive and friendly." It also expressed satisfaction at the progress so far.

The statement dealt with the confidence-building measures thus: "Views were exchanged on confidence-building measures in the areas along the Line of Actual Control, including prior intimation regarding military exercises, that would reflect the state of improved relations between the two countries. Both the Indian and Chinese delegations at the Joint Working Group meeting included for the first time representatives of the Ministries of Defence. Discussions on these confidence-building measures and on the boundary question will be continued further during the next meeting of the Group which will be held at an early mutually convenient date, in Beijing."

The two sides, it said, "continued their discussions aimed at arriving at a mutually acceptable settlement of the boundary question as well as on measures for ensuring peace and tranquillity in the areas along the Line of Actual Control. They exchanged views on further developing bilateral relations and on international issues of mutual concern during the consultations that followed the JWG meeting."

P.M. briefed: Mr. Xu Dunxin later called on the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, to report that the talks of the JWG had proceeded satisfactorily, and that this was the result of the impetus given by the contacts at the top in the last three months. Reference was also made to the continuous improvement in the bilateral

relations, reflected, among other things, in the plans for exchange of visits notably of the President, Mr. R. Venkataraman, in May.

According to the assessment conveyed to the Prime Minister, the talks were fruitful and positive. During discussions on the current international situation, the sides, it was noted, stressed the importance of close cooperation on various issues. Environment, which would be the subject of a U.N. conference shortly, was mentioned specifically.

Burmese Send Rockets Against Naga Villages

92AS0694A *Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English*
13 Feb 92 p 7

[Text] Kohima, Feb 12—Myanmarese troops carried out their latest offensive against Naga villagers on February 2, according to a delayed report in NAGALAND OBSERVER, a Kohima-based tabloid, quoting administrative sources in Noklak on the international border.

Myanmarese soldiers, according to the report, attacked Konyak and Khamnumgan villages and Henpu with rockets. These two villages have been bearing the brunt of the attacks since late December. But this is the first time the Myanmarese troops have used rockets. Both the villages have been destroyed in this latest attack, according to report.

A very senior official of the Nagaland Government, who spoke on the condition of anonymity "because this is an international problem" said trouble started on December 22 when Naga villagers killed five Myanmarese soldiers. The sixth soldier, however, managed to escape and sent reports of the incident to his headquarters. The troops have since been raiding Naga villages on the Myanmarese side in retaliation.

The official stated that the soldiers managed to come to the north only during the dry season, extort ration and demand forced labour and the poor villagers are tortured and punished whenever they refuse to oblige.

It appears that this year, the villagers appealed to the Khaplang faction of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland [NSCN] for protection against the Myanmarese troops. The NSCN reportedly urged Naga refugees from across the international border started pouring into Mon and Tuensang districts of Nagaland where they were kept in makeshift camps in several villages. The Indian security forces, according to the Government official, wanted the refugees sent back but the Nagaland Government refused because this was a problem to be tackled by the Government of India.

The Nagaland Government rushed rice and blankets of the refugees besides issuing temporary permits for them [to] stay in India. The State Red Cross branch also started giving humanitarian aid. At a later stage, the Assam Rifles, too, gave yoemen service.

There were already 1,403 refugees in Nagaland by late January, according to the figures released by the Chief Minister. However, following the latest attacks by the Myanmar troops, more refugees are expected to cross over into Nagaland.

Purchase of Soviet Aircraft Carrier Considered

92AS0690A *New Delhi PATRIOT in English* 11 Feb 92
p 7

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] London, Feb 10—India and China are interested in buying the former Soviet aircraft supercarrier 'Varyag' reports quoting western naval intelligence sources said, report agencies.

The 67,500 ton 'Varyag' sister ship of the 'Admiral Kuznetsov' in the Russian northern fleet is being fitted out at the Nikolayev South shipyard in the Ukraine.

With Ukraine shipyards being nationalised and no funds available to the Russian navy the future of capital ships under construction 'including the supercarrier' 'Ulyanovsk' and the missile cruiser 'Admiral Lobov' has become uncertain, JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY has reported in its latest issue.

Envoys to 3 Former Soviet Republics Named

92AS0676A *Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English*
11 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by Manini Chatterjee]

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 10—As part of the efforts to establish full-fledged ties with the erstwhile Soviet republics, India has appointed three charge d'affaires to Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and the Ukraine this week, pending the appointment of ambassadors to these countries in the next two or three months. The charge d'affaires will play a key role in setting up missions and initiating the process of bilateral political and trade relations between India and these states, independent of the ties with Moscow, sources said.

The new appointees are Mr Deepak Kumar Malik to Alma Ata, Mr Ashok Kumar Mukherjee to Tashkent and Mr Prabhat Shukla to Kiev. All three foreign service officers have considerable experience in eastern Europe and have served on the east Europe desk in the ministry of external affairs in Delhi. In addition, for the first time, a consul-general is being appointed in Vladivostok.

The decision to speed up the appointments follows the Prime Minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao's recent talks with President Llionid Kravchuk of the Ukraine in Davos, Switzerland, where it was decided to set up mission as soon as possible. The impending visit of President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan to Delhi on February 22 has also been taken into account in the timing of the appointments.

India does not want to lag behind in setting up trade relations with these countries, particularly as some of them might wish to continue barter trade arrangements.

Politically, too, India wants to establish close and friendly ties with the Central Asian republics and dispel the view that an "Islamic" bloc hostile to India was in the making. Significantly, however, President Nazarbayev will be visiting Pakistan after India. Pakistan will also be opening a mission in Alma Ata soon.

Mr Deepak Kumar Malik, who has been posted to Alma Ata, has earlier served as second secretary in Moscow and first secretary in Belgrade. Mr A.K. Mukherjee was consulate general in Tashkent and has served in Belgrade and as personal secretary to two former foreign ministers—Mr Baliram Bhagat and Mr P. Shiv Shankar, Mr Parbhat Kumar Shukla, who is off to Kiev, has served twice in Moscow as first secretary and political counsellor.

Details of Trade Pact With Uzbekistan Noted

92AS0673A *Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English*
4 Feb 92 p 8

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 3—India and Uzbekistan have signed a rupee-dollar trade agreement, making it the first pact Uzbekistan has signed with any country after its break-up from the former Soviet Union.

The two-way agreement stipulates a trade of Rs[rupees]200 to Rs 250 crores. This includes long staple cotton, urea, non-ferrous metals from Uzbekistan and exports of consumer goods, drugs, pharmaceuticals, textile garments, shoes, tea, coffee and jute from India.

The President of the India-USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Mr Manubhai Shah, said India would sign similar agreements with Kazakhstan, Russia and Ukraine. He said by the year-end such agreements would be formalised with all the republics of the former Soviet Union.

The chamber of commerce has decided to rename itself as the India-CIS Chamber of Commerce and Industry to keep up with for formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). The chamber is negotiating trade agreements with all the republics of the former Soviet Union. A delegation has already visited and made the groundwork for cooperation between India and the newly formed republics.

It is holding an exhibition of Indian goods in Baku, capital of Azerbaijan, between February 8 and 16 and a 30-member delegation of Indian industrialists will be exhibiting their products. They would propose the sale or purchase of goods in dollars of free currency or barter.

Mr Shah said Indian industrialists are looking for three kinds of links with the new republics.

Either direct sales, joint ventures or signing counter trade agreements. While direct sales was an immediate

possibility, joint ventures would take a long time to come through. The Chamber has located over 700 Baku businessmen who have got foreign currency.

Mr Shah said under the rupee-dollar agreement both sides could conduct trade in the currency of their choice. It will go simultaneously with any renewed arrangement on rupee-rouble. The Russian federation has promised that it would fulfil all outstanding obligations on the previous agreement.

Road to Permanent Security Council Seat Seen Rocky

92AS0576A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 18 Jan 92 p 4

[Editorial: "India on the Security Council"]

[Text] A mark of jubilation and pride in victory was observed in the behavior of the countries which played a more influential role in placing the United Nations on a solid foundation at the end of World War II. A reflection of the same attitude was also noted in their activities. In the beginning, however, a kind of inequality was established in the making of the world platform where all the independent nations were supposed to be treated with equal respect and importance. This was clearly established during the creation of the Security Council. Some nations were made permanent members of the Council and it was decided that the other members would be elected in turn by the members of the General Assembly. For example, at present India is a temporary member of the Council. The permanent member nations have the real power and their judgment is greatly respected. Moreover, they have the right to use the veto power. It means that if all the members make a joint resolution, it cannot be implemented if one of the powerful permanent member nations is opposed. During the Cold War, the Security Council became a platform of showdown of power between the western countries and the former Soviet Union. It should be remembered that Taiwan, formerly Formosa, was a permanent member of this body with the backing of powerful America. China, which was an important and large country and a close friend of the Allied powers during the war, was rejected the membership as it became a communist country. Later on, America had to admit that whatever importance the island nation of Taiwan might have, it was not the real China. Then the doors of the Security Council and the United Nations were opened for the representatives of Beijing only. Nobody can forget that history.

Now, a great change has taken place in international politics and the old balance of power no longer exists. Today, America is more powerful than ever with the changes in the political situation in east Europe and in the former Soviet Union. There is no doubt that these changes will affect the whole organizational structure of the United Nations, including the Security Council. But the proposal of making India a permanent member of the Security Council put forward by Mr. Moynihan,

former U.S. ambassador to India and at present a member of the U.S. Senate, would surprise people. The people of India will be happy and proud of this proposal. There is no doubt in our minds that India occupies a very important place in international politics. Some of us also believe that nothing could happen in the arena of international politics without India. Patriotism is good, but this kind of unnecessary overestimation is not desirable. In reality, India's military strength is not that powerful, and her economy is also very weak. Unfortunately, India's political importance is not as great as we would like to think. There is no harm in making India a permanent member of the Security Council, but we must have to consider how will India benefit from this membership.

It is a fact that some important changes must take place in the United Nations beginning from the basic charter to the organizational structure. It is comparatively easier to change the language of the charter which still identifies Germany and Japan as adversaries. But it will really be difficult to change the character of the United Nations which has become a magnanimously glorified world platform. If everything could have been done by the speeches of the politicians, there should have been no problem in the world. All the problems of all the corners of the world would have been resolved a long time ago. The member nations relish raising questions about their democratic rights. But if they had shown their sense of responsibility by contributing their share to the United Nations, the funds of the United Nations would not have been empty and its economic health would have been better. Those who still hope that the United Nations should be more powerful and it would continue to play its true role, should also consider how this large organization could be made a healthy one by cutting the excess fat from its body and by clearing the heaps of unrealistic proposals it faces. It is incorrect to think that everything would be alright if India is made a permanent member of the Security Council.

Efforts To Involve UN in Kashmir Denied

Government Clarification

92AS0675A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 8 Feb 92 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, February 7—The government today clarified that it was not seeking to internationalise the Kashmir issue and India's position on this has not changed.

A meeting of the foreign secretary, Mr J.N. Dixit, yesterday with ambassadors of the five permanent members of the Security Council had been "inaccurately interpreted by a section of the press" as an attempt to seek the assistance of the United Nations or a third party to resolve the present tension with Pakistan.

According to a spokesman of the external affairs ministry, the foreign secretary had met them as representatives of "individual countries." He added that "their membership of a particular grouping" was not taken into account.

Meanwhile representatives of the European Community (EC) led by Britain, Portugal and the Netherlands, met the minister of state for external affairs, Mr Eduardo Faleiro, and handed a memorandum expressing concern over the proposed march by the JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front] on Tuesday.

The concern of the 12 EC nations has already been "adequately expressed in Islamabad."

Request to Security Council Members

92AS0675B Madras THE HINDU in English 7 Feb 92
p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal; quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 6—While the Pakistani Government has adopted a posture of reasonableness on the threat by the ultras from the occupied Kashmir area to cross the Line of Actual Control, the actual happenings there tell a different story. There is a deliberate, well-planned attempt, according to senior sources in the Indian Government, to create a situation of sufficient tension so as to attract the attention of the Security Council and to activate the U.N. New Delhi, therefore, has taken precautionary steps—both on the diplomatic front and on the ground.

The Government has come to this conclusion on the basis of the orchestrated campaign in Pakistan in the last 48 hours with a view to creating a visible situation of crisis in relation to Kashmir. The three elements of this drive are: 1) the resolution passed by the Pakistan National Assembly at an emergency session; 2) the Prime Minister, Mr Nawaz Sharif's speeches in the Pakistan-occupied parts of Kashmir, reiterating his resolve to work for the accession of the State to Pakistan; and 3) the defence by the Foreign Office spokesman in Islamabad of the conduct of the Pakistani High Commissioner in India, Mr. Abdul Sattar in publicly criticising the host country.

Envoys Called

The Foreign Secretary, Mr. J.N. Dixit, today called the Ambassadors of the five Permanent Members of the Security Council—the United States, the United Kingdom, China, France and Russia—to give his assessment of Pakistan's designs and to request their Governments to give proper advice to Islamabad. The idea was to tell them how Pakistan sought to invoke the formulation on 'preventive diplomacy', in the statement summing up the recent Security Council Summit, how attempts were made to bring Kashmir within the purview of 'potential crisis' and 'areas of instability,' the two situations qualifying for notice by the U.N. Secretary

General and how situation of disturbance and conflict was being created to take advantage of the new role sought to be given to the Security Council.

The situation created by the crossing threat and related matters was considered by the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs this evening.

That the West realises the danger potential of the crossing move was evident from what the Ambassadors of the European Community countries told the Pakistan Foreign Office earlier this week. They urged Islamabad to desist from the dangerous move.

As officials here see it, Pakistan may go to the extent of generating religio-emotional fervour by recreating the Hazrat Bal shrine episode (the theft some years ago of the holy relic of the Prophet and the large-scale disturbance that followed it) or resorting to such means as throwing in sensitive spots torn copies of the Holy Quran.

New Delhi has told Pakistan that any transgression of the Indian territory would evoke a decisive response by the security forces. What normally is done in such situations is well known—warning by hailers, firing in the air and shooting at the infiltrators. The Government is not oblivious of the point that Pakistan, while trying to draw the security forces on the border, may engineer trouble inside the Valley. Attention is also drawn to the callous cynicism on which Islamabad seeks to base its calculation—of using injury or possible death of "innocent" persons, the border crossers, to make a case for human rights violation. That the Kashmir situation was sought to be hotted up at the time of elections in Punjab had not escaped notice either.

The theme of Mr. Sharif's public speech in the occupied Kashmir was as follows:

The Government of Pakistan will not disappoint the people of Jammu and Kashmir who have suffered agonies and miseries at the hands of the Indians.

The Governments of both Pakistan and "Azad" Kashmir are working to materialise the dreams of the people of Kashmir.

Occupied Kashmir will be liberated from the clutches of India. The entire State of Jammu and Kashmir would accede to Pakistan in accordance with the aspirations of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

The Kashmir liberation movement, in fact, was for the "completion of Pakistan."

"We are committed to providing financial assistance for the betterment of masses as also for the liberation of Indian occupied Kashmir."

PTI reports:

At a hurriedly convened meeting the Prime Minister apprised leaders of the main opposition parties of the

serious situation in Kashmir. He told them about the steps being taken by the Government to deal with any eventuality.

[Boxed item: Pak. Mob Sent Back]

Jammu, Feb 6—About 1,500 Pakistanis gathered close to the border at Suchetgarh, 35 km from here, yesterday but they were sent back after Indian security force took up positions and issued a stern warning to their Pakistani counterparts.

Top official sources said the Pakistani nationals came close to the Suchetgarh picket on the Indian side of the international border and raised anti-India slogans.

The sources said border security forces posted at the forward most Indian picket at Suchetgarh objected to the raising of anti-India slogans close to their picket.

They took up positions and called the leader of the Pakistani Rangers posted opposite the Indian picket. After a warning from the BSF [Border Security Force], the Pakistani rangers pushed the mob back to Sialkot from where they had come in buses.—UNI [end box]

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Rao Addresses Regional FAO Conference

92AS0704A Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS in English*
11 Feb 92 p 12

[Boldface words as published]

[Text] New Delhi—Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao has said that the government would succeed in solving a "bewildering variety" of problems resulting from economic reforms.

Inaugurating the 21st Food and Agriculture Organisation's (FAO'S) regional Conference for Asia and Pacific here on Monday, Mr. Rao, however, said: "I am not sure to what extent we will succeed." The international community should fully support the adjustment process to reduce the economic and social costs.

He said that the problems were really complicated and could be solved by "a lot of hard work and micro-planning going right down to the village level, right down to the family level, right down to the individual level."

He pointed out that a number of developing countries undertaking economic reforms were experiencing difficulties. Heavy indebtedness, mounting inflation, deteriorating terms of trade, low agricultural growth rates and adverse demographic trends aggravate their difficulties.

The Prime Minister stressed the need for measures such as increasing food aid from external sources, strengthening public distribution system and increasing income transfers to alleviate short-term problems associated with adjustment process.

Mr. Rao said that the policies followed by some developed countries especially in the field of trade in agriculture undermined the potential for farm development in developing countries. Trade barriers installed by developed countries were preventing many developing countries in Asia from fully exploiting the global economic opportunities.

"It is hoped that Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations would address these issues in a balanced manner, taking into account the development dimension of agriculture in the developing countries."

He called for setting up a network of gene banks to conserve plant genetic resources and make them accessible to farmers. This was essential for sustaining development of agriculture.

Support for research: Mr. Rao said that developed countries and international farm agencies should provide long-term scientific support to research centres of developing countries to enable their farmers to fully benefit from the forthcoming gene revolution.

Earlier, Agriculture Minister Balam Jakhar said that accelerated development of agriculture was a must for alleviation of poverty, employment and for providing food security to increasing population. He said that the Eighth Plan envisaged growth and diversification of agriculture to achieve self-sufficiency in food and to generate surpluses for exports.

FAO director general Edouard Saouma said that little progress had been made in reducing onerous external debts of developing countries. Worldwide, the debts now exceeded \$1.35 trillion. Debt service had been compounded by the severe reduction of official aid from the developed world.

Mr. Saouma said that the adverse impact of persisting protectionism had been exacerbated by depressed prices of primary commodities. The value of agricultural exports of the developing countries rose only slowly, even in nominal terms. In this context, the outcome of the Uruguay Round negotiations was crucial. Their success could augur an era of progress and prosperity; but failure could spell economic stagnation and devastation, especially for the poor and the weak.

He said that in some countries, budgetary deficits had eroded critical food distribution programmes for vulnerable groups. In others, the implementation of structural reforms had run into difficulties as income had stagnated.

He said: We should have no illusions. The tasks ahead are daunting. Over 300 million people in this region (Asia and the Pacific) remain ill-fed."

FAO chief said that never before the farms of this region had been called upon to feed such large populations. India alone added the equivalent of ten Australias to the region's population in the last decade. If the demographic transition to lower birth rates faltered in the

larger countries of this region, its agriculture would have to feed more than 3.7 billion people in the near future.

Experts React to Pakistan Mirage Purchases

92AS0629A New Delhi PATRIOT in English 20 Jan 92
p 1

[Text] With the French Government's decision to sell Pakistan 40 Mirage 2000 fighter aircrafts, the Pakistan Air Force will in effect have a formidable force of 88 such jets, reports UNI.

Reacting to the agreement on Mirages finalised by Pakistan Premier Nawaz Sharif during his visit to Paris, aviation experts in the Capital on Sunday said twelve such jets had already been transferred to Abu Dhabi clandestinely from the Peruvian Air Force which are meant for Pakistan.

The experts said in addition to this Pakistan has access to 36 mirage 2000 fighters with the Abu Dhabi Air Force which had been flown and maintained by Pakistan Air Force personnel for the last two years. The experts pointed out that under a defence agreement with Abu Dhabi, these aircraft would be available to Pakistan in emergency.

Experts said that Pakistan had been evaluating the Mirage 2000 not only as an aircraft but also as a weapons platform since it had the multi-mode radar with beyond the visual range missile firing capability. The Mirage 2000 is equipped to carry the French nuclear weapons but with clandestine help Pakistan can modify it to carry their own nuclear weapons now under production. This would pose a very serious threat not only to India, but the entire region.

The French have also got stand-off air-to ground ordnance which can be fitted onto the Mirage 2000. With the multi-mode radar the Mirage 2000 could pick up aircraft at very low level in all weather conditions.

The experts said that while India is being pressured by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to reduce the strength of its armed forces, Pakistan is going on a weapons buying spree.

According to diplomatic sources here out of the 40 Mirage 2000 fighters being sold to Pakistan, almost 12 could be delivered immediately. These 12 Mirages now lying in France were meant for Jordan but France withheld the supply following developments in the Gulf.

The experts pointed out that with the breakup of the Soviet Union, India was already facing serious problems for defence spares particularly the spares for the MiG-29 aircraft.

The quantum jump in the very high performance aircraft category in the Pakistan Air Force inventory would have to make Indian Air Force think seriously of its implications.

Pakistan had been planning for the Mirage 2000 for quite some time as the supplies of F-16 and some other military and aid had been stopped by Washington since it was convinced that Pakistan had the nuclear bomb.

The experts point out that Pakistan had acquired 40 F-16 aircraft from the United States in 1982 of them 28 were fighters and 12 two-seat trainers. With the large number of trainer aircraft Pakistan had been training a stream of pilots to handle high performance aircraft for the future.

The experts say that India would have to seriously consider its options in the wake of acquisition of new equipment by the Pakistan Air Force.

The light combat aircraft (LCA) project is slipping and the aircraft is now not available before the year 2005 and with problems of spares of the MiG-29 remaining, some alternative would have to be thought of immediately to at least maintain a balance with the Pakistan Air Force.

As reported on Saturday, France has agreed in principle to sell Pakistan 40 Mirage-2000 fighter jets.

The agreements which also include sale of submarines, minesweepers and radars, were made during the visit of the Pakistani Premier Nawaz Sharif to France.

With the defence deal Pakistan has entered the world arms bazaar in a big way since uncertainty prevails over early resumption of suspended American military aid.

Solanki Meets Press on Approach to Pakistan

92AS0701A Madras THE HINDU in English 9 Feb 92
p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal: "India Ready To Meet Pakistan Threat: Solanki"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Feb 8. In response to a query on what will be India's stand now that Pakistan has acknowledged it can assemble a nuclear bomb, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Madhavsinh Solanki, said today: 'Bomb or anything is part of the defence preparedness and we have the defence preparedness'. The ambiguity of the remark is certain to be interpreted as a confirmation of the widespread belief that India has a nuclear device.

The Pakistan Foreign Secretary, Mr. Shahrayar Khan's interview to WASHINGTON POST on Pakistan's nuclear capability became a major subject at a press conference, called by Mr. Solanki, to explain the government's approach to the threats from Pakistan through the proposed border crossing by the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) activists and brief on his visit to Davos and Nicosia (for the NAM [Non-aligned Movement] ministerial meeting).

However, repeated attempts to draw Mr. Solanki out on the meaning of his remark proved futile. 'I won't go into details. Defence preparedness is our permanent objective', was all that he would say.

At another stage, he reiterated what had been often said in the past—'We are continuously monitoring the situation and will take adequate steps' (to meet any eventuality). He was not prepared, he said, to make any comparisons between the nuclear capability of India and Pakistan.

India, it was clear, was not rattled by Mr. Khan's announcement. On the contrary, the image projected by Mr. Solanki's remarks, was one of quiet confidence. Mr. Khan's eagerness to 'set the record straight' now, after persistent denials, could be used by New Delhi to point to gaps between Pakistan's professions and actions.

Mr. Solanki was not surprised by Mr. Khan's statement—'We knew it. The Pakistan Foreign Secretary announced it now but its top nuclear scientist, Abdul Qadar Khan, said it four years ago'.

What was his view of the timing of Mr. Khan's statement? This, Mr. Solanki replied, was part of the attempts to escalate the situation on the border and had to be along with the strike call by the Pakistan Government, the latest public speeches of its Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, and the resolution of its National Assembly at a time when the JKLF chief, Mr. Amanullah Khan, had given a call for crossing the Line of Control in Kashmir.

Although the Pakistan Government had talked of its decision to stop those attempting to cross the border, 'it is for us to consider how much weightage to give to the statements from Islamabad'.

In an informal talk later, Mr. Solanki said that Pakistan's admission on the bomb exposed the hollowness and futility of the proposal for five-nation talks for a nuclear-free South Asia. He saw it as vindicating India's position that a nuclear-free zone would be meaningless, with Pakistan already having developed nuclear capability.

India was opposed to a zonal approach to the non-proliferation, in view of the global spread of nuclear weapons. The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao's address to the Security Council Summit on January 31 in New York contained what, officials point out, was India's counter-proposal on the nuclear issue.

Its main ingredients which did not attract adequate attention are as follows:

1. India shares the concern expressed by several leaders on the threat posed to international peace and security by the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

2. A qualitatively and frighteningly new dimension to the problem has been given by the possible loss of control over nuclear arsenals (in the Central Asian republics of the former Soviet Union). The issue now is not the possible acquisition of such weapons by a handful of threshold States, but an uncontrolled spread of ready-made weapons across the globe.

3. Preventive or punitive action on a selective basis will not achieve the desired results. The only logical route is to pursue a global approach, based on a new international consensus on non-proliferation. The global non-proliferation regime must be universal, comprehensive and non-discriminatory.

4. The action plan, outlined by the former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi at the United Nations in 1988, which envisaged stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2010, was not acceptable to nuclear powers then because of their faith in the doctrine of nuclear deterrence. With the end of the cold war, and the consequent irrelevance of this doctrine, the plan acquires a new significance in the current global context. The target date could be advanced to the end of the present century.

Mr. Solanki confirmed the earlier indications that India would not have talks with Pakistan on Kashmir unless there was an end to the help to saboteurs in the Valley and in Punjab from across the border.

Mr. Solanki recalled Mr. Khan's visit here last year as the special envoy of Mr. Sharif, as also his message on Pakistan's anxiety to resolve all issues bilaterally through negotiations in a friendly manner. When told of the importance of Pakistan putting an end to interference in India's internal affairs for creating a conducive atmosphere, Mr. Khan promised a change in the ground realities but, in practice, said Mr. Solanki, there was no improvement.

The current tension has not affected the plan for the next round of the on-going dialogue, at the level of Foreign Secretaries in New Delhi, scheduled for March, or this month's contacts on Tulbul project and the maritime boundary.

All-Party Meet Considers Kashmir Situation

92AS0693A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 11 Feb 92 pp 1, 11

[Text] New Delhi, Feb 10—The all-party meeting specially convened by the Prime Minister [PM], Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, to discuss the situation in Kashmir here today adopted a resolution unanimously to resist by all necessary means any violation of the Line of Actual Control (LAC).

The meeting took note of the recent developments in the light of the threat by militant organisations operating from Pakistan occupied Kashmir (PoK) to cross the LAC tomorrow and warned the government not to let its guard down and keep up the diplomatic initiatives.

While maintaining that Jammu and Kashmir was an integral part of the republic of India, the resolution warned that the confrontationist and violent approach

adopted by Pakistan could have dangerous consequences. It further observed that Pakistan would be wise to adhere to the Simla agreement to which both countries are committed.

Cutting across party lines, leaders of various political parties and groups appreciated the diplomatic and other steps taken by the government to deal with the threat posed by the militants in PoK to cross the LOC [Line of Control] which amounted to nothing short of an aggression.

The leaders representing a wide cross section of opinion impressed upon the government that the situation in the troubled states of Kashmir and Punjab could not be treated separately. In both cases, militants and secessionist elements were receiving training, arms and other support from Pakistan.

Several speakers at the all-party meeting pointed out that India should be extremely cautious in its approach as this was not the first time that Pakistan had tried to whip up such hysteria in yet another attempt to internationalise the Kashmir issue.

"We should not be surprised," emphasised a former minister now in the opposition. He wondered how far could India believe the assurances given by Pakistan particularly as the statements made by leaders across the border have proved to the contrary time and again.

The PM said Pakistan's objectives seemed to be threefold: first, to create further secessionist disturbances in Kashmir, second, to invigilate the Indian security forces in a conflict situation which would have enabled secessionists to create anarchic conditions in Kashmir, and third, to utilise the heightened atmosphere of violence and disturbance to depict events in Kashmir as a human rights issue affecting regional peace and security.

He said that there was agreement that two categories of broad measures be undertaken to resist Pakistani moves. First, to mobilise and project a national consensus about India's firmness in resisting any attempt by Pakistan to violate India's territorial integrity. Second, to take measures to generate diplomatic and political pressure on Pakistan to refrain from the activities they were encouraging against the interests of peace and stability in the region and against India's stability and territorial integrity.

Mr Rao said the ministry of external affairs was in touch with ambassadors and high commissioners of various countries since February 6 informing them of likely developments and asking them to advise the government of Pakistan to refrain from negative activities which can affect peace and stability in the South Asian region.

The Prime Minister said it was also clarified to the foreign diplomatic representatives that "India was asking them to exert their influence on a bilateral basis with Pakistan. These contacts were both necessary and

desirable to caution Pakistan in time to pull back from its ill-founded postures," Mr Rao emphasised.

He said India's briefings had resulted in a number of governments instructing their ambassadors and heads of missions in Islamabad to approach the foreign office of Pakistan and other concerned authorities with the desire and requisite advice to exercise caution and restraint.

"The impact of these efforts is evident in the fact that since February 8, Pakistan authorities have issued a number of statements indicating that they will prevent the border crossings and not allow any untoward incident on the LOC," Mr Rao said.

Security Threat Seen in Expanding Islamic Alliance

92AS0578B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 20 Jan 92
p 6

[Article by Ray Singh: "How To Ace the Islamic Alliance"]

[Text] "There is darkness under the lamp" is a famous Indian saying; however, it is surprising that we needed U.S. Senator Larry Pressler to understand the importance of this saying. In his 11 January press conference, the U.S. senator repeated and emphasized that the greatest danger to India during the 1990's is the emerging alliance of fundamentalist Islamic nations. Referring to this danger, Senator Pressler is the first U.S. expert to say that the Islamic alliance spreads from Turkey in the north to Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan in the south, and the Sinkiang area on China's border in the east. The mention of Turkey is very important, because India generally believes that Kemal Ataturk made Turkey a secular state after ending the Islamic caliphate position of Turkey's sultanate. This belief of the Indian people also got support from the declaration of Turkish leaders that their country is European. Turkey also became a member of NATO after World War II.

The U.S. senator's knowledge of Turkey as a member of NATO is important and should be considered accurate. Therefore, when he mentioned Turkey on 11 January, we were to take his warning seriously. It is not only necessary, but is a mandate for India. Being a member of NATO, Turkey is the strongest country among the Islamic nations. If a strong military power like Turkey joins the emerging Islamic alliance, then it will pose a long-term danger for India, which would be difficult, if not impossible, to face. India's neighbors—Pakistan and Bangladesh—are always ready to attack India in the name of Islam. It is a fact that cannot be ignored, regardless of how Indian leaders try to claim otherwise. If these leaders try to ignore this truth and dig their heads like an ostrich into the sand of their ignorance, then the next generation will never forgive them.

Another danger for India about which Senator Pressler informed us is the nuclear capability of the Asian Islamic republics that were in the Soviet Union. The proposed

Islamic alliance could be fatal to India. It should be remembered that as far the Pakistani plan to make nuclear bombs is concerned, its only goal is to destroy non-Islamic India. The Pakistani Islamic clergy openly calls India "Darul Harab" [enemy country]. The danger of Pakistan's bomb is also very serious, because even after the agreement to keep all scattered nuclear weapons under a central command of the former Soviet Union, many republics, including Tajikistan and Kazakhstan, are trying to keep control of some nuclear weapons. It is said that Iran, Libya, and Algeria have imported enriched uranium and missiles from Tajikistan nuclear storage by paying cash. It should be noted here that Saddam Husayn himself, before this defeat in the Gulf war, had sent 100 kg of enriched uranium to Algeria.

In the context of the emerging Islamic alliance, Senator Pressler has also mentioned Pakistan and Afghanistan. Everybody knows that when the problems started in the Soviet Union last year, Pakistan and Iran were the only two Islamic countries that sent government delegations to the five Muslim republics of the Soviet Union and presented the proposal to form an Islamic alliance. Iran's offer was natural, because Iran's Ajairi Muslims are settled in Azerbaijan, and they have had relations with Iranian Muslims for centuries. However, Pakistan does not share a border with any Soviet or Central Asian republics. Perhaps, Pakistan is trying to make sure that Afghanistan joins the Islamic alliance. The truth is that if the Islamic alliance is formed, then Afghanistan will join it, because if it does not, then there will be a vacuum left in the middle of this proposed alliance. This would be a great weakness to the alliance. This is the reason that Pakistan has started great efforts to unite all Afghan mujahidin groups to establish a new Afghan government to replace President Najib Allah's administration.

Pakistan's Military Commander, General Asif Nawaz, even went to Rome, the capital of Italy, and met with the son-in-law of Zahir Shah, who was the king of Afghanistan 76 years ago. He offered him the establishment of a new government in Afghanistan in the name of Zahir Shah. This is a strange development, because Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, the fundamentalist Afghan mujahidin leader, is a strong supporter of Pakistan. He has repeatedly said that he does not want former Afghan king Zahir Shah to become king again. By this, he means that Pakistan is trying its best to include Afghanistan in the Islamic alliance. If Pakistan succeeds in this effort, then as soon as this Islamic alliance is formed, then it will use the entire Afghan mujahidin to attack Kashmir, just as it did in 1947. Using the Afghan mujahidin for attacking Kashmir would be the cheapest and most efficient procedure for Pakistan, because this step would be taken in the name of Islam, and instead of Pakistani soldiers, the Afghan mujahidin would lead the attack. Thus, India cannot accuse Pakistan of the attack. At the same time, Pakistan would receive the support of the Islamic world.

Before having the Afghan mujahidin attack Kashmir, Pakistan would want to procure modern weapons, ammunition, and money for them. These can be

acquired through the Islamic alliance easily and without cost. Therefore, India faces a very serious danger from this alliance.

It has been proven that in the training camps for Afghan mujahidin established in Pakistan, Kashmiri and Punjabi terrorists are also trained in the use of AK-47 rocket launchers and other modern weapons and munitions. Because of this joint training, they will not have much problem in cooperating with the Punjabi terrorists when the Afghan mujahidin attack Kashmir. This means that if the Islamic alliance is established, then terrorism will increase in Punjab and perhaps in other Indian states. From whatever perspective we look, we cannot deny the fact that the establishment of an Islamic alliance would be a major problem for India.

Senator Pressler is correct in saying that the establishment of an Islamic alliance cannot be stopped. It also equally correct, however, that if India wants and tries, then it can find the means to counter the dangers and military attacks emanating from the Islamic alliance. It is possible that Indian leaders consider Senator Pressler's warning about an Islamic alliance as just another American trick and reject it at least ignore it. Even if we grant that Senator Pressler's warning is part of the U.S. strategy to include India in the U.S. sphere of influence, India still cannot ignore the danger of an Islamic alliance just to protect its own interests. It is a fact against which India is trying to fight on a limited scale. Politics and diplomacy demand that India take the necessary action to protect its interests, even when India has to get help from outside to implement its plans in this regard. The question now is not of ideological stipulation; it is a question of the security of the nation.

It is important to fight this danger that we take effective steps to stop separatist elements in Kashmir and Punjab. We must also take initiative at the governmental level. As long as there is movement of terrorists in the border states, Pakistan will have an opportunity for interference. This danger is most prevalent in Kashmir. Until now, India has been lenient toward the terrorists in Kashmir. Even Prime Minister Narasimha Rao admits that Pakistan is fighting a guerilla war against India under the guise of terrorism, and that we should not hesitate in taking retaliatory action. If, for once, we break the back of terrorism in Kashmir, then we can start political process there. In such a situation, Pakistan will be deprived of its goal, which is dependent on the present fundamentalist politics and military rule.

From a diplomatic perspective, we must stop Afghanistan from becoming in control of the fundamentalists. The United States of America does not think it necessary to help the Afghan mujahidin now that the danger of the Soviet Union is gone. However, if Senator Pressler and the U.S. government believe in the danger of an Islamic alliance, and that Afghanistan will be included in it, then it is important that the United States change its old role in Afghanistan. In other words, we will have to convince the United States that it should not let a fundamentalist

government be established in Afghanistan. Without Afghanistan, the plan for an Islamic alliance can fail. This would be our diplomatic victory.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Rao Meets Press on Return From UN, Davos

92AS0672A Madras THE HINDU in English 5 Feb 92
p 1

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 4—Discordant notes struck by Pakistan—even at crucial junctures—have their relevance, but “we should not lose sight of the objective, which is to have good relations with our neighbours,” the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, said here today.

Mr. Rao was asked a spate of questions on India-Pakistan ties at the airport on his return from his visit to New York and Davos (Switzerland) where he held a meeting with the Pakistan Prime Minister, Mr. Nawaz Sharif.

On the future of India-Pakistan relations in the light of the strike call (tomorrow) by Mr. Sharif supporting the “struggle” of the people of Kashmir, and the provocative interview of the Pakistan High Commissioner, Mr. Abdus Sattar, here on the same subject, Mr. Rao said Mr. Sattar’s interview on the eve of the Davos meeting of the two Prime Ministers, and Mr. Sharif’s strike call right after the two leaders had met, were not “chance remarks.” However, “I don’t think this is happening for the first time in India-Pakistan relations.”

Asked if he was surprised by the turn of events, Mr. Rao said he was “not capable of surprise, as I have seen too much of the world.” Despite “setbacks” in relations between the two countries, it was necessary to be mature in response. “These things have to be taken in one’s stride,” he said.

‘Cordial’ Talks

The Prime Minister described as “cordial” his talks with Mr. Sharif in Switzerland. “But I was referring only to the talks,” he noted.

Mr. Rao said he had not seen the full text of Mr. Sattar’s interview before he met Mr. Sharif. He would not have cancelled his meeting even if he had, the Prime Minister added. “We were talking at a particular level and I think we should keep up that level in spite of the fact that these setbacks do come in any relationship between two countries. There are people who want to promote good relations and there are also people who have their own way of dealing with things in a different way.”

The Prime Minister also fielded questions on the nuclear question, China and his visit to New York to attend the

summit of members of the U.N. Security Council. The Davos meeting with captains of world industry was “useful,” he said.

Asked if he saw merit in the five-nation dialogue proposal to sort out the nuclear issue in South Asia, Mr. Rao said, “We find that it is inadequate, I think this time I have made India’s position abundantly clear, more than at any time in the past.”

Asked about the possibility of India becoming a permanent member of the Security Council, he said India’s role in world affairs was always permanent and did not go by occasions or stages. In New York, he said, India had raised the need to expand the Security Council as it was not fully representative of the nations of the world, the way it was constituted today.

In his brief opening statement, the Prime Minister said the main objective of the summit-level Security Council meeting was to seek to delineate its new role in the changed global situation. But no definitive conclusions were expected from the first meeting of its kind.

On the whole, the views held by Security Council members, in a way representing the United Nations, in general, came out loud and clear. The similarities too came out as did nuances contained in the differences between members.

Useful Exercise

In the coming period the Security Council would have to continue its effort to narrow down the differences and find for itself a role for the future. “I think from this point of view the exercise was useful and I believe that the effort will be made,” he said.

Asked if in his talks with the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Li Peng, in New York, he had agreed for a political initiative on bilateral issues, the Prime Minister said it was agreed that if the Joint Working Group dealing with the boundary question, which was to meet this month or in early March, needed political guidance, it would report back “and we will give the guidance.”

About the Davos gathering of industrialists in which several world leaders participated, Mr. Rao said it was like a fair where people mix freely without protocol, without inhibitions. Even though he went to Davos only on the last day of the meeting, the industrialists had not left and “quite a few postponed their departure in order to be able to meet me in the new situation where they find economic reforms having been started in India. They were curious to know more about our reforms and perhaps curious to know from me.”

The Prime Minister said the meeting went off well. In fact, even at Zurich, before he reached Davos, he had occasion to meet eight or ten very big industrialists who were leaders in their line. “So, on the whole, I think it was a useful visit,” Mr. Rao said.

Narasimha Rao on Economic Reform Package

92AS0702A Madras INDIAN EXPRESS in English
10 Feb 92 pp 1, 6

[Article by Prabhu Chawla: "Government Is Not a *Dharamshala* To Give People Things *Gratis*: PM"; quotation marks; boldface, italicized words as published]

[Text] Prime Minister [PM] Narasimha Rao has for the first time indicated that he is aware of the opposition to his economic reform package—both at the level of the people and at the political level. He made an oblique acknowledgement of the fact that the policy shifts he has made on the economic front had not found wholehearted acceptance even within his party.

In an exhaustive interview to Indian Express annual magazine EXPRESS NEWSLINE and GENTLEMAN magazine of the Express group, he said if there was any discontent within the government, he himself was among those discontented.

He spoke of the hurdles in the way of restructuring the public distribution system and curbing inflation. Asserting that the new exit policy would not lead to workers losing jobs, he said India could not afford to run a *dharamshala*, creating artificial employment opportunities.

In the hour-long interview at his residence, he was in turn assertive, frank and on the defensive. Excerpts:

Q: Sir, what is your assessment of the political mood?

PM: The political mood is certainly one of worry. I have no doubt on that; that includes me. It is not as if there is one camp holding one view and another camp holding another view. One who is running the government may hold the same view and still not be talking about it always. So, I don't think there is any big difference in that.

Past experience shows that when you have inflation of this level, it takes about 18 to 24 months to bring it down to single digit. This is what my old colleagues who have been in the Finance Ministry, and who have successfully done it have told me. Now...18 months...this time is rather long. It will have to be telescoped, it will have to be shorter. I am conscious of that. We are waiting for the next harvest. That is one important occasion when we can pause and take stock and go ahead.

Q: The impression is that the public distribution system is being diluted. Wheat procurement, for example, has declined despite production increase. Fifty-four million tonnes were there and the procurement was 8.75 million tonnes. So, the impression is that when the market forces take over, the government doesn't want to distribute these things and therefore they play with the market forces.

PM: No, it is not like that at all. In fact, we are now more than ever before determined to have the new public

distribution system with more things to be made available. Personally I think that is a far-reaching measure. My difficulty is how to implement it the way I want because it is not in my hands, I can't do it sitting in Delhi. So, I have been trying to talk to the Chief Ministers, persuade them, get them interested in these programmes, tie up all the loose ends. This time we have tried to make this foolproof.

Q: If I can, I would like to go back to the political mood. Do you see a problem about political acceptance of the overall reform programme within the party?

PM: Yes.

Q: Why? What is the reason?

PM: It is there. I know. That is because they know what has happened. They know the need.

Q: No, my question was that is there a problem within the party?

PM: There is no problem. What I said is that there is general acceptance in the party ranks, if you wish to know, and at the people's level.

Q: Then, why is there this price rise?

PM: No, don't talk of price rise. That is a separate matter. We have brought a reform. Is it right or wrong? I am prepared to convince anyone, starting from a small village to a big city, that this reform is necessary.

Q: Yes. But do you see simmering discontent in the party and in your government?

PM: There is nothing simmering. If there is discontent, it includes me, that is what I have said. No distinction between one camp and another...

Q: What the economists are referring to as the 'abstract concept'...

PM: It is not abstract at all.

Q: Some people feel that we are being forced to take a particular course...

PM: Step to step to step, I can convince people. I mean I have no doubt on that.

Q: No, for example, you brought in that exit policy. Are the people ready to accept it?

PM: Yes. I am prepared to tell them why all this has happened. I have been telling them. I am doing nothing else. What I am telling the people in my public meetings is nothing very sweet, very pleasant to hear...

Q: But, how long will they accept the inflation?

PM: Let us see. I think the people are more sensible than we think.

Q: No, if one takes the message that may be emanating, which is that on the one hand we are losing jobs and on the other hand...

PM: I think no people are losing jobs.

Q: They will begin to lose jobs after the exit policy.

PM: No. I thought that has been made quite clear.

Q: The other day there was that announcement of 1,000 government jobs...?

PM: That is not because of the reform. That is because the machinery has overgrown anyway. Any sensible person should do it. It was attempted many times before, it was left half way. Well, I happen to be a little more intent on seeing it through. That is all. Even if we had been in a very good condition, it would have been necessary because the Central Government has been just growing and growing...

Q: No, the point in the question is not that it is not necessary or not good, but the point is that if on the one hand you have...

PM: But, even these people are not losing their jobs. If there is a vacant job and I think it is not necessary to fill it, nobody has lost a job.

Q: But you are curbing employment in that sense?

PM: Oh no! This kind of bloated and artificial employment is not what a developing country can thrive on. You see, it is not employment for employment's sake; it is not a *dharamshala* where people get things *gratis*. Now, the work to be done and the number of persons to do that work have to have some relationship.

Q: I think, if I like, I would like to focus on the perception rather than the reality. In reality nobody has any option but to go ahead with this programme. But the perception could be that on the one hand the prices of articles of daily consumption, are going up. On the one hand, people perceive an eventual threat to their jobs. On the other collaborations are being signed for break-fast cereals, cars, and luxury items. There is no money for production within the industry, though there is money for people to play in the stock markets.

PM: It is possible that an individual or a section of people are not satisfied with a part of the programme. In conceptual terms it has to be a total perception and I think the total perception—I have no doubt—of the people is that we are on the right track.

Q: There is a perception that the reforms are foreign dictated.

PM: I can only explain to the people. They have to believe me. It is one word against another.

Q: If the commitments have been made in writing to them before they are announced...

PM: I am telling you it is one word against another. That should be the end of it because I don't know how to prove anything to you...

Q: Sir, what is the explanation then you are giving to the people?

A: I am telling them this is necessary for us. If you think it is not necessary, please convince me. But if you tell me someone has told you and therefore it is wrong, any villager can understand the illogic of it.

Q: We get the feeling that some parties which publicly oppose some of the reforms are privately supporting you.

PM: I wouldn't like to tell you publicly what they privately tell me. It wouldn't be proper.

Q: But are you answering the question?

PM: No, I am not. I am refusing to answer the question.

Q: Is there a difference between a private posture and a public posture?

PM: That is what I am saying, you see, a man in private is different, normally I mean, he is not just the same as he is in public.

Q: On matters of policy like this where the public is concerned, why should there be a public policy and a private policy?

PM: If you had been in a political party, you won't be asking these questions.

Q: But sir, a minister should not take a different view. They talk one thing in public, something else in the Cabinet.

PM: You see, you will have to understand that here you are making changes in a policy. No one is absolutely sure. Why don't you take the genuine path; everyone has doubts, has misgivings. You succeed and your misgivings go away. In fact, you start saying that you had initiated it and everything is being done at your instance. If you don't succeed, you say, did I not tell you? I mean, this is human nature. I don't see anything very extraordinary in this.

Prime Minister Rao Criticized on Economy

92P40121A Madras ANANDA VIKATAN in Tamil
16 Feb 92 p 2

[Editorial: "Government and Charity-Inn"; place and date of interview not given]

[Text] An interview of Prime Minister Narasimha Rao was published recently.

The prime minister made a "sharp" remark that the government is not a charitable [organization] to be giving everything to the people for free.

Even a beggar would not like to spread his hands for alms in front of a "charity-inn." But if millions of people are in that situation today, who is to be blamed for that? Are the politicians not to be blamed for this condition, because they have been playing two-faced games at the expense of the people, changing their manifestos and slogans to suit themselves, in order to benefit themselves and to save their own positions!

Are the "wonderful" economic schemes Narasimha Rao now wants to promulgate also designed just to protect his administration? Or are they really going to change the "charity-inn" situation that is prevalent everywhere in the country today?

Will the prime minister rectify our economy soon, and make it possible for every Indian to be able to buy at least his basic needs with his head held high? If the prime minister, who has been giving his interpretation of what a "charity-inn" is, does not do just, his administration will be exposed in no time at all!

Minister Solanki on 'Adaptations' of Foreign Policy

92AS0703A Madras THE HINDU in English 24 Feb 92 p 8

[Interview with Madhavsingh Solanki, External Affairs Minister by K.K. Katyal: "We Had To Fine-Tune Foreign Policy—Solanki"; italicized, boldface words as published]

[Text] *India's foreign policy, its direction and content, have, of late, been the subject of an animated debate in the country and have evoked keen interest abroad. How has the conduct of external relations changed after the collapse of the Soviet Union, a trusted friend of India for decades? What is the meaning of the new warmth in the ties with the United States? What is the outlook in regard to India's relationship with Pakistan and how had the JKLF's [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front] thwarted march across the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir affected it?*

In an interview with K.K. Katyal, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Madhavsingh Solanki, responds to these and several other questions at some length.

Mr. Solanki was asked for his comments on the view that he maintained a low profile at a time when foreign policy needed to be aggressively projected. He might be keeping a low profile, he replied, so far as the publicity was concerned, but when it came to dealing with other countries, "the profile was not low. The interaction with them was based on strong conviction and is marked by firmness and persuasiveness." He cited the case of his recent talks in Kuwait. When he explained Pakistan's role on the one hand, in aiding and abetting terrorist activities in India, and, on the other, in seeking to internationalise the Kashmir issue, his hosts, he said, saw the problem in the correct perspective and agreed that it be resolved bilaterally.

Question: Some time back, the Prime Minister spoke of the Government's readiness to adapt to the changing international environment and to utilise foreign policy as an instrument to further our national interests in a dynamic manner. Would you like to mention some significant cases of "adaptations," to illustrate the point?

Mr. Solanki: The basic framework of India's foreign policy has not only served our national interest through the formative years of nation-building but also in the overall context of a changing and rapidly evolving international environment. Our overall priorities have remained constant. These are to maintain the unity and territorial integrity of India, to ensure our geo-political security by creating a durable environment of stability and peace in our region and to build up a framework conducive for the economic well-being of our people by encouraging a healthy external economic environment.

The challenges, economic and political have now been sharpened and modified by changes in the former Soviet Union and East Europe, the resurgence of the democratic spirit in countries across all continents, the demand for a more equitable and democratic power structure within the United Nations Security Council and, generally, a tilt in favour of openness, consensus and problem resolution through dialogue. Within this overall framework of priorities, we have had to fine-tune traditional foreign policy positions, and adapt effectively to this new environment. Let me give you just one example. We decided to vote for the repeal of U.N. Resolution 3379, equating Zionism with racism. In doing so, we were a part of a majority that included even members of the OIC [Organization of the Islamic Conference]. Thus the modified Indian stand was not a *volte face*, but reflective of a desire to enable the United Nations to play a role in the West Asian peace process, from which it was earlier excluded.

You have referred to the OIC. How does India view this grouping and its stand on Kashmir? (Its last summit wanted a fact-finding mission to be sent to Kashmir to inquire into Pakistani charges—of human rights violations by the Indian security forces).

The OIC has no *locus standi* to deal with the Kashmir issue which is an internal matter of India. We brief those members of the OIC who are friendly to us on how Pakistan had sought to use this forum to internationalise Kashmir when it is party to the Shimla agreement (which provides for bilateral approach to resolve India-Pakistan problems).

The end of the Cold War and the disintegration of the Soviet Union have led to major reorientation of foreign policies in world capitals. How precisely did India respond to this stunningly new situation?

In response to an earlier question, I outlined the framework of priorities which determines India's foreign policy. I had also mentioned that we are adapting to the evolving international scenario which is witnessing changes at a breathtaking pace. Most certainly, the

changes that have taken place in the erstwhile Soviet Union constitute one of the, if not the, most important developments in post-war history.

As you are aware, we had a particularly close relationship with the former Soviet Union. In the light of the recent developments which have taken place, we are seeking to work out in collaboration with the Russian and other Republics, the contours of a new relationship. I visited Moscow recently and had detailed discussions with Messrs. Gorbachev, Yeltsin and other prominent leaders. The Foreign Secretary also led a team of officials to Moscow and the capitals of some of the Republics. We have had several important visitors from the Republics. President Nazarbaev of Kazakhstan visited India from February 21-22. In working out a new relationship, we are not only going to base this on the existing level of relations between India and the erstwhile Soviet Union, but we are also going to explore the possibilities of new areas of cooperation with each of the Republics.

What is the Government's assessment of future trends in the Central Asian Republics? There are many who forecast an upsurge of Muslim fundamentalism there.

In my talks with President Nazarbaev, I mentioned this point. I referred to the impression that efforts were being made to bring fundamentalism in the Republics with Muslim majority. His views were clearly against fundamentalism. Earlier, during the communist regime, religion was not brought in... but after independence, he explained they had passed laws that everyone is free to pursue his faith. He regarded religion a personal matter and said that politics could not be based on religion. Turkey, according to him, was of the same view—both Turkey and Kazakhstan, like India follow the secular path, he said.

There is a conspicuous warmth and understanding in India's relations with the United States now. Would you ascribe it to the end of the Cold War and related developments? How do you visualise this relationship to develop in various areas, political, economic and defence?

Indo-U.S. relations have, in fact, steadily improved throughout the Eighties. This process has, however, received a new impetus on account of certain recent initiatives that have relevance to the end of the Cold War and related developments. It is true that with the Cold War now behind us, some of the inhibitions which perhaps stood in the way of fostering a closer relationship are now no longer relevant.

We certainly see greater areas of political understanding. We had differences with the U.S. world view of the past; of ideological differences, military alliances and so on. We now see more commonality of perceptions when the United States speaks of democracy, individual freedom, a free press, a free market, etc.

The United States is our largest trading partner. With the opening up of the Indian economy, we expect more U.S.

investment here in the future. In fact, big U.S. corporations have so far responded well. To name a few—Ford, GM, General Electric, Kelloggs etc. The mood is upbeat.

There had been so far relatively little contact between the armed forces of the two countries apart from ceremonial exchanges and nominal training facilities but nothing significant. A decision has now been taken in principle for the two armed forces for enhanced cooperation, particularly in the field of training. We believe this will be mutually beneficial.

The recent decisions like the upgrading of relations with Israel and the vote on the Zionism resolution in the United Nations have been received well in the United States. But there are instances of sharp divergence of views—for instance—on nuclear non-proliferation. The United States wants India either to sign the NPT [Non-proliferation Treaty] or accept the proposal for five-nation talks on a nuclear-free South Asia. None of these suggestions is acceptable to India. What shape, in your opinion, will be taken by this issue?

You have referred to upgradation of relations with Israel and the Indian vote in favour of the resolution which seeks to repeal equation of Zionism as a form of racism. These are only new developments. What is important is that these are symptomatic of an overall relationship of growing understanding and cooperation. You have referred to areas where there are sharp divergence of views. I would put it differently. The United States' desire to see countries sign the NPT is perhaps understandable from their point of view. We, on our part, have our own perceptions and interests. We are in favour of nuclear non-proliferation *per se*. However, we believe that the approach to this should be global and comprehensive. We do not believe that proposals of a limited nature, such as the five-nation talks for which neither the terms of reference nor the objectives have been clearly spelt out, may provide the solutions. We have, however, made it clear to the Americans that we would be happy to engage in bilateral discussions with them with a view to understanding each other's positions and concerns. When President Bush raised it with our Prime Minister in New York, the Prime Minister indicated our willingness to hold bilateral discussions.

The Government, according to some commentators, would do well to come out with initiatives of its own rather than reacting to proposals by others. Would you like to comment on it? The Prime Minister's address to the Security Council summit does contain a formulation on non-proliferation, but it looks amorphous and perhaps needs to be refined. What is your view?

Over the years, India has taken several initiatives in the field of disarmament. The various resolutions we present at the United Nations relating to non-use of nuclear weapons, nuclear arms freeze, etc. are evidence of our efforts. The action plan presented by us in 1988 was a precise, time-bound programme to achieve a nuclear weapon free and non-violent world. In his address to the

Security Council, the Prime Minister pointed out the continuing relevance of our approach.

He provided the basic framework which will be followed up by us through appropriate initiatives in various multilateral forums.

That still leaves the question whether our stand answers the requirements of the present-day, changed context.

India's stand was outlined as far back as 1988 by the then Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi—in the action plan presented to the special U.N. session on disarmament. The Prime Minister, in his address at the Security Council summit, revised that plan in the light of the changed situation. (This was a reference to Mr. Narasimha Rao's suggestion that the deadline for the total elimination of nuclear weapons be advanced from 2010 to the end of the present century). We are for global disarmament, which covers nuclear non-proliferation; piecemeal efforts will not serve any purpose.

While recognising that the U.N. resolutions on Kashmir had lapsed, the United States would like India to talk to Pakistan on Kashmir. That is also the feeling in the rest of the Western camp, the EC for instance. How do you look at this problem?

We are committed to resolving all issues with Pakistan peacefully through bilateral negotiations in accordance with the Shimla agreement. We are glad that this has the support of the United States and other countries.

Meaningful discussions however on bilateral issues, especially the more complex ones, can only be held once Pakistan stops its support to terrorism and subversion in Punjab and J&K [Jammu & Kashmir]. This support, which is totally unacceptable, vitiates the climate and is not conducive to promoting mutual trust and confidence.

We have repeatedly called on Pakistan to stop sponsoring terrorism and join us in efforts to settle all differences peacefully through dialogue.

There are sufficient indications that Pakistan intends to internationalise the Kashmir issue. The recent moves, intended to give enhanced powers to the Security Council to deal with crisis situations or areas of instability may come handy to it. How do you forestall this situation?

Pakistan's attempts to internationalise the Kashmir issue can only complicate the situation. It also violates the provisions of the Shimla agreement which call for resolution of all problems through bilateral discussions. There is no scope for outside or third party intervention.

We have apprised the international community of this position and are glad that there is widespread endorsement of the Shimla agreement.

Mr. Nawaz Sharif may be facing an acute dilemma within Pakistan because of his action in stopping the JKLF

march. But has the whole episode not served to turn international spotlight on Kashmir?

Immediate spotlight may be there but it does not remain permanent. Yes, Pakistan did stop the march under diplomatic pressures. But who created the atmosphere for that? First they give a call for the strike, talk of Pakistan not being complete without Kashmir and then stop the march and try to get the credit (from the rest of the world). Do you think others cannot see through the game?

There have been mixed, even conflicting, signals from Islamabad. How do you look at Indo-Pakistan relations?

One must remember that on the ground, Pakistan continues to sponsor, aid and abet terrorist and militant violence in Punjab and J&K. Until this unfriendly policy is reversed there can be no meaningful progress towards normalisation. Tensions in our relations will continue.

We hope that Pakistan will realise the negative consequences and futility of this approach and, instead, join India in our endeavours to work for establishment of good neighbourly relations. It is our firm belief that friendly and cooperative relations between India and Pakistan would benefit not only the people of our two countries, but are essential for peace and stability in the region.

There is keen competition in winning the friendship of Central Asian Republics. India started well but the earlier momentum seems to have slowed down. Meanwhile others seem to have forged ahead. This is evident from the Tehran meeting of the ECO [Economic Cooperation Organization] in which six Asian Republics took part. Do you agree with this assessment?

India's interaction with Central Asia goes back many centuries. This interaction has been comprehensive and covers contacts between academics at the level of science and technology, in the cultural fields and most important, in economic and commercial matters. The new identities which Central Asian Republics have assumed both individually and as part of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] have necessarily required other countries to look afresh at the prospects of opportunities that will be thrown up on account of the historic changes that have taken place. Our approach and policy towards the Central Asian Republics is in the process of being determined in a gradual manner based on mutual interest. As you are aware, there have been exchange of visits not only at the level of official delegations but also at the non-governmental level to the Central Asian Republics. I am confident that the new initiatives that are being taken by these Republics and by us will result not only in consolidation but enhancement of the existing warm and friendly relations.

What is India's stand on issues raised by the trouble in Yugoslavia?

We wanted peace to be established in Yugoslavia and issues resolved by the people themselves. We wanted a peaceful atmosphere because Yugoslavia is an important member of the NAM [Nonaligned Movement]—in fact its current Chairman. But when the U.N. Security Council took a stand, we, as its member, supported its decision. We are responding positively to its request for an officer (to head the U.N. protection force for Yugoslavia).

What is India's stand on the demand for recognition by Croatia (which has broken away from Yugoslavia?)

India is a member of the Security Council and we go along with its decisions.

Another round of boundary talks with China is just over. Do you expect a forward movement or do you think a political mandate from the top to the JWG [Joint Working Group] will be necessary?

As it appears from the recent talks, we are on the right lines. The approach on both sides appears to be positive. At the moment the question of directive from the two Prime Ministers does not arise. Our Prime Minister, while talking to the Chinese delegation leader, expressed satisfaction at the decisions to step up the discussion and gradually stabilise the situation along the border.

New CPI Draft on Russians Marks Changed Stand

92AS0621A New Delhi PATRIOT in English 25 Jan 92
p 6

[Article by Monobina Gupta: "Gorbachev Responsible for Chaos"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Experiences of the erstwhile Soviet Union have brought home different lessons for the Communist Parties. While the Indian Peoples' Front (IPF) appears to have exercised the ghost of Stalin, Communist Party of India (CPI) has subjected Gorbachev to more stringent criticism, as reflected in a new draft on the developments in the Soviet Union.

The latest draft, formulated by A.B. Bardhan, secretary, National Council, marks a shift from the October 1991 document on the upheavals in the Soviet Union. The new draft reflects a hardening of party position, following the dismemberment of the Soviet Union and the eclipse of the Communist Party. The earlier party document carried a more positive assessment of Gorbachev and his policies of glasnost and perestroika.

The need for a reassessment was voiced by the party National Council members, who met in Coimbatore this month. This resulted in the settling up of a three-member committee to reformulate the draft, essentially a correction of the earlier one.

The latest draft states that even though responsibility for the present situation may lie with the mistakes of past and present leaders, after the death of Lenin, this should

not be construed as minimising the accountability of the Gorbachev leadership for the ultimate result.

Crediting Gorbachev with some initial commitment to Marxism-Leninism and objectivity about Soviet history, the CPI goes onto charge him with gradual retrogression from these steps, 'till nothing was left.'

It asserts, 'Here we are not so much concerned with the fate of an individual or his words, but the policies pursued during his tenure and the results that unfolded before our eyes.'

Gorbachev is blamed squarely for 'liquidating the USSR as a state entity, disintegrating the Communist Party and doing away with socialism.'

The earlier 1991 draft, however perceived that the 'present mess is the result of basic flaws of the socialist model, constructed in the Soviet Union, inherited later by Gorbachev.' There is no such hard-hitting criticism of Gorbachev as manifest in the later document.

Blaming Gorbachev for 'denigrating the past and turning a Nelson's eye to historical achievements, the latest draft says that a country whose history has been trampled into dust, could have hardly hoped to survive.'

The party points to the systematic erosion of the Communist Party, where new centres of political power developed. With the multi-party system, democratic centralism was eliminated! The CPSU, the draft observes, 'ceased to exist as a party, even before the General Secretary delivered the coup-de-grace by resigning and dissolving the central committee.'

Gorbachev, the document alleges, dismissed class divisions and struggles as 'habitual notions.' Ironically, the earlier 1991 party document underlined that 'activation of new thinking by Gorbachev has brought about fundamental changes in international relations for the better.'

It had asserted that the efforts by Gorbachev have helped in diminishing the threat of a nuclear war, labelling 'correct' the emphasis on settling international disputes through negotiations and not by force and confrontation.'

'Comrade Gorbachev,' the draft observed 'has taken useful initiatives to solve long-standing disputes.

The latest draft treats Gorbachev less sympathetically. 'The concept of new thinking,' it points out, 'ignores the reality of imperialism's contradictions with the third world and the socialist countries.'

While recognising that injustices to some ethnic communities had continued, as a departure from Marxism-Leninism, the draft nevertheless, attributes the growth in secessionist forces to the neglecting of a history of common sacrifices. 'In an atmosphere of openness, along with genuine feelings, chauvinistic and xenophobic outbursts went unanswered, it says.

Coming to their own parties, the CPI believes that the Communist Parties in India have an exemplary record in championing democratic rights. 'They therefore see no need for new concepts of defining socialism as democratic socialism or socialism with a human face.' The Communist movement in India, the draft maintains, has grown from struggles for democratic rights.

Recognition of 3 Political Parties Withdrawn

92AS0695A Madras *THE HINDU in English* 22 Feb 92 p 6

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 21—After completing a poll performance review of political parties the Election Commission today withdrew recognition from three national political parties—the Indian Congress (Socialist), headed by Mr. K.P. Unnikrishnan, Mr. Chandra Shekhar's Janata Dal (Samajwadi) [SJP] and the Lok Dal. While the SJP and the Lok Dal have not qualified for recognition even at any State level, Mr. Unnikrishnan's Indian Congress (Socialist) will now be recognised only as a State party in Kerala and Manipur. With the loss of recognition they will lose their reserved symbols.

The Commission conducted the poll performance review based on the 1991 election results and in a few cases that of the Assembly elections earlier. Although the Commission is expected to conduct such a review after every general election, this review has been done after a gap of nearly ten years. The review was started in early January and has been completed now.

It is under the Election Symbols (Reservation and Allotment) Order, 1968 that the review has been conducted. As a result of the long delay in doing this a large number of political parties at the national and state level had been enjoying the privilege of a reserved symbol although their poll performance and ground strength did not warrant it.

Under the rules of the Symbols Order a party can be recognised at the state level only if it secures at least 4 percent of the valid votes polled at the parliamentary or assembly elections in that state or returns at least one member to the Lok Sabha for every 25 members of the House. It can also get recognition at the state level if it wins at least one seat in the assembly for every 30 seats.

A party which gets State recognition in four or more states qualifies for recognition at the national level.

The review will mean a loss of a reserved symbol for parties derecognised as a result. Besides the three national parties affected by the action of the Commission, ten State parties have also lost standing as state level parties.

All the parties were given an opportunity by the Commission to present their case and to reply to a show cause notice issued to them. They were given an opportunity to be heard in person from February 5 to 12. Today the Commission passed individual orders in each case.

Now in the Commission's records there are six national parties—the Indian National Congress, the Bharatiya Janata Party, the CPI [Communist Party of India] and the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist], the Janata Dal and the Janata Party. The cut in the state list leaves 34 state parties.

Editorials See CPM Facing Identity Crisis

Unchanged Attitude of the CPM

[Editorial: "CPM Facing Change"]

92AS0526A Calcutta *ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA in Bengali* 10 Jan 92 p 6

[Text] The 14th party congress of the CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist] has ended at Madras. Before this, the 13th party congress was held at Tribendram in December 1989. During this period the whole political geography of the world has completely changed. The system of single party communist autocratic rule and the controlled socialistic economy fell at first in East Europe and then in Soviet Russia. The failure of socialism in so many countries forced the communist parties of the different countries of the world to take up the task of self-analysis and self-reform. In some places, the communists have changed the name of their party, and in some places, the whole party structure has been reformed. It was hoped that in these changed circumstances, the CPM, the major communist party of India, would review the changed perspective seriously and would engage itself in the task of self-analysis honestly and realistically. The common people had expected at least this much from the 14th party congress. They were eager to see what policy the CPM would adopt to adjust itself to the changing international and national situation. Sadly, they found that Indian communists do not have flexible mentalities and they are more interested in sticking to old orthodox and fundamentalist ideals.

It is true that some apparent changes had taken place. Some new changes had been seen in the sphere of establishing internal democracy within the party and on the question of reforming the party program written in 1968. But as a reform, these are most ordinary and cosmetic in character. It is clear from the decisions of the 14th congress why the the CPM is regarded as the world's last Stalinist organization. For the failure of socialism, the party blamed the mistakes of the reformists which, in short, meant the wrong application of Marxist ideals. Because of this they did not hesitate to revile Mikhail Gorbachev. But it is not really known if Marxism has been correctly implemented in any country. Does the CPM claim itself as a true and correct implementer of Marxism in West Bengal and in India? Maybe so. And for that reason, they placed their full confidence in the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which means the single-party autocratic rule of the communist party and the planned and fully controlled economic policy leading to the achievement of complete socialism. The effects of the proletariat

dictatorship are felt by the people of West Bengal and the other parties of the Left Front. But has anyone noticed the implementation of correct Marxism in the economic policy of the state? No change has been taken place in the party's declared stance on the question of the evaluation of the role of Stalin in history. How will the change happen? Nothing else is expected from the leaders of the party who still feel proud to call themselves Stalinist and to run the party organization and the government in the same style and tactics followed by Stalin. In the process of evaluating the national situation, the CPM fired some shots against the economic policy of Narasimha Rao's government. They expressed the fear that this policy would destroy the economic sovereignty of the country and, on the other hand, cautioned people about the danger of communalism and the importance of opposing the the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]. It means that the old policy to fight the two fronts still exists. In fact, the truth is not revealed that this policy helped strengthening the power and the rise of the the BJP in the Indian politics. As a matter of fact, Congress was blamed for the rise of the the BJP. Actually, the strength of the the BJP increased as the strength of Congress diminished. And this happened due to the continuous opposition to Congress by the leftist and the centrist political parties. During the course of opposition, those parties, because of necessity, came to an understanding with the the BJP directly or indirectly.

In the party congress, a decision was made in principle that in the case of necessity, the CPM would not hesitate to withdraw its support that might cause the fall of the minority Congress government. Unfortunately, CPM does not have the sense of simple arithmetic that in the no-confidence motion of the leftist parties the central government would not fall unless the BJP supported the motion. And if it happens, what reason is there to hope that in the following election only the leftist parties would gain more strength and power and not the BJP? Is the party leadership happy and encouraged to see the increase in party membership? The Soviet Union and the East European countries had millions of party members. In fact, in those two places there were no other parties or organizations. Where did those members disappear when the whole system broke down? Many of them took up other convenient flags and rejected the red one. Where is the evidence to deny the notion that the increase of party membership in the states of Kerala and West Bengal was due to the reason that the party is in power over there and many people joined the party just to get the privileges as a part of the ruling party? If not, then why did the number of party members decrease considerably in the state of Tripura after the CPM was ousted from power? In fact, a break within the the CPM took place in Tripura. Why until now have the CPM and the other communist parties failed to expand their influence and popularity in the Hindi-speaking part of northern India? To what extent are the new members ideologically trained? Do they have that much firmness and moral strength to face the challenge of a political

opponent like the BJP? The 14th party congress of the CPM did not try to answer these very important questions.

Two Jyoti Basus

92AS0526B Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 22 Jan 92 p 6

[Editorial: "Two Jyoti Basus"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] It is not a new question that whether Jyoti Basu is one person or two persons. After listening to Jyoti Basu, who is the chief minister of West Bengal, it appears that one Jyoti Basu does not have any connection with the other Jyoti Basu and one Jyoti Basu does not feel it necessary to know what other Jyoti Basu is saying in other places. The situation has become such that two Jyoti Basus, taking the same body and sharing the same dais, are freely speaking out their own viewpoints. For example, recently, we heard his or their views on the issue of the proposed policy of the central government regarding the sick nationalized industries. After hearing this speech, any rational person must be confused about whether Jyoti Basu was or against the "layoff" policy. When Jyoti Basu says that the layoff policy would aggravate the present unemployment situation, it appears that he is against this policy. But in the next moment, when he says that the layoff policy must not be implemented without making arrangements for the rehabilitation of the excess workers, it appears that Jyoti Basu has accepted the "layoff" policy and agreed that it is not unjustified to lay off the excess workers of the sick industries. And the question of rehabilitation? Manmohan Singh, the finance minister of the central government, categorically stated that excess workers will be given financial compensation from a special fund, and a national fund has been created for this purpose with the help of the World Bank. It means that while Manmohan Singh is saying that after making rehabilitation arrangements, the "layoff" policy would be implemented; Jyoti Basu, on the other hand, is saying that without the rehabilitation arrangements will never accept the policy of "layoff." Both of them, therefore, are saying the same thing and there is no difference of opinion. Still, for the sake of politics, the pretension of a difference of opinion is made.

In fact, this is the key to solving the mystery of "two Jyoti Basus." In reality, the chief minister of West Bengal has no objection to the policy of the central government. But if the policy of the central government is accepted without protest, controversy is not created in the political atmosphere, fighting the election for capturing power with the make-up of an opposition party cannot be done, and, in fact, it would become difficult to maintain the identity of a separate political power. In spite of following the same path, naturally a pose is to be maintained that any policy of the central government is not acceptable by the state government and the state administration has serious objections to all the policies

of the central government. This kind of fake encounter has reached such an extent that sometimes the real character of it gets completely exposed. Jyoti Basu recommended to the central government that the copyright of Rabindranath's works be kept in the hands of Vishwa Bharati for 20 more years. But when the central government, following the recommendation, made the arrangement for the extension of the copyright for 10 more years, Jyoti Basu said—why was it necessary to extend the copyright for such a long period of time? Strangely, one Jyoti Basu completely forgets about what the other Jyoti Basu recommended.

This kind of hypocrisy and this kind of continuous mask changing by a senior leader of the Left Front made it difficult to ascertain which one is the real face. One day the common people would finally catch the game. In fact, didn't they find the partial solution of the mystery in the meantime? They are seeing that when the central government increases the prices of rice and wheat, the state government increases the price of milk. They also notice that when the railway fares are increased by the central government, state government increases the fares of the state-controlled transportation system and with the permission of the state government, the fares in the private transportation are also increased. They are also observing that the state government is no less interested than the central government to engage in financial collaboration with and even handing over the sick nationalized industries to the private sector. (In this respect the deal of Swaraj Paul and IISCO [the Buy Indian Only and International Investment Supporters, respectively] deserves special mention.) They are hearing that chief minister Jyoti Basu is advising that the Japanese technique of self-reliance for achieving economic prosperity be learned. Nothing is unnatural in those events or utterances. Taking the ruling power in the poor state of West Bengal in the post-Gorbachev era, it is suicidal to follow the traditional course of socialism. Thanks to Jyoti Basu, who even before Gorbachev, came out of the illusion of socialism and started to walk in the path of liberal economic policy. But the problem is if he continuously goes on saying the opposite view (of his followed policy) just to pay respect to the traditional economic manifesto of the leftist parties, then a major portion of the good results of his liberal policy might get wasted. Jyoti Basu is not the manifesto writer of the CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist], he is the chief minister of West Bengal. We have only one request to him—please give up the habit of wearing two dresses at the same time. Let the realistic Jyoti Basu make a farewell bid to the socialist Jyoti Basu. Let the policy of "layoff" begin from here.

Congress-I Links to Gandhi Assassination Hinted
92AS0707A Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN
in English 9 Feb 92 pp 1, 7

[Article by S. Rajappa: "Rajiv Case Affidavit; Light on Two Other 'Conspirators'"]

[Text] Madras, Feb 8—The affidavit fielded by Ms. Kumudavalli, secretary of the Chengalpattu district Mahila Congress(I), before the Verma Commission inquiring into security lapses behind Rajiv Gandhi's assassination, has put the Special Investigation Team [SIT] of the Central Bureau of Investigation in a quandary.

Ms. Kumudavalli's affidavit disclosed that the hit squad included a bearded man and an unidentified woman who sat in an auto-rickshaw behind the stage of the public meeting until the foul deed was done.

Latha Kannan, a Congress(I) worker of Arakonam and her daughter, Kokila, were brought to the venue of Rajiv Gandhi's meeting in Sriperumbudur by Mrs. Latha Priyakumar in her car. The mother and daughter escorted Thanu, the human bomb, to the front row. All three died in the blast. Thanu was brought to the venue by the bearded man and the unidentified woman.

Subha, the stand-by human bomb who committed suicide along with Sivarasan, leader of the squad, at Konanakunte on the outskirts of Bangalore after a long chase by the SIT, was addressed as "akka" (elder sister) by Latha Kannan, Ms. Kumudavalli said. This familiarity established beyond doubt Latha Kannan's acquaintance with the squad.

Latha Kannan's husband, a railway khalasi, and father, a Burma repatriate, were found to have become rich overnight after the assassination.

The first to flee the scene of the crime was Mr. Mathur, the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, since placed under suspension, in his official car with the red light on its roof flashing, followed by Mrs. Chandrashekhar and her daughter. The third car was a blue Ambassador. Its occupants are yet to be identified.

The bearded man and his woman companion in the auto-rickshaw followed the first three cars, Ms. Kumudavalli said. Unlike other members of the squad who were photographed by Hari Babu, one of the victims of the bomb blast, the mysterious couple left no tell-tale evidence behind and therefore escaped the SIT dragnet.

Ms. Kumudavalli had given the SIT all the information contained in her affidavit on June 9. According to reliable sources, the SIT had been asked to lay off any trails or conjectures that could remotely link Congress(I) leaders with the assassination conspiracy.

Ms. Kumudavalli said, soon after her giving evidence before the SIT, Mr. Avadi Kannadasan, a Youth Congress(I) activist, threatened her with dire consequences unless she kept her mouth shut.

The same day Ms. Kumudavalli went to the Avadi police station, under whose jurisdiction she lives, and lodged a written complaint that her life was in danger and sought protection. "Till this date (January 30) I have not been given police protection", she said in her affidavit.

His Holiness Vardha Ethiraja, chief priest of the ancient Sri Adikesavaperumal temple in Sriperumbudur on whose land the assassination took place, had been emphatic that the crime could not have been committed without the active help of the local Congress(I) bigwigs.

The obvious venue for the fateful election meeting was the public ground next to the Sriperumbudur bus depot. It was abandoned and the temple land, one kilometre away, was chosen. The high priest protested, saying election meetings could not be held in religious places, but his objection was overruled.

Ethiraja said Sriperumbudur had been the hotbed of LTTE activities and he had no doubt in his mind that it was the Sri Lankan militants who prevailed on the Congress(I) to change the venue of Rajiv Gandhi's election meeting.

Ethiraja had written to Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao and to the SIT to find out why the public grounds in the town were abandoned and the wide open temple ground by the side of the Bangalore highway chosen. The SIT, according to him, was more interested in covering up Congress(I) tracks instead of finding the real culprits and was conducting the inquiry with "blinkers".

Thursday's submission by the AICC(I) [All India Congress Committee-I] before the Verma Commission that it was not in possession of any relevant documents and the plea by the TNCC(I) [Tamil Nadu (Indira) Congress Committee] seeking another week's time to ascertain whether it was in a position to file any document, to say the least, is intriguing.

The AICC(I) letter to the Commission said: "It is humbly informed that the AICC(I) is not in possession of any material which is required to be produced under the instructions of the honourable Commission. In view of this, it is respectfully informed that the AICC(I) is not in a position to file anything in compliance to the directions of the honourable Commission".

When Rajiv Gandhi's election tour programme for Tamil Nadu was drawn up last May, Sriperumbudur was not included.

Congress (I) Internal Party Elections Examined

92AS0527A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 19 Jan 92 p 4

[Article by Ashish Ghosh: "In the End, If Congress Elections Are Really Held, It Will Stop Factionalism"]

[Text] There is a proverb—"praise a fair day at night." There will be an organizational election within Congress, there will be an elected president of the party, election committees will be formed from the lowest to the highest levels of the party—these kinds of promises we have heard so many times during last few years that we can no longer believe in them until these promises really take place. It is very difficult to keep track of how many times

voter election lists were prepared and how many times factional conflicts arose over those lists. The ordinary workers of the party cannot believe that the leaders would ultimately leave their present posts and take the risk of being elected.

But from the overall preparation it appears that this time elections will really be held, no matter how and will probably begin within the next week. The voters' list is complete and the election committee is formed. All the factions of the Congress are ready for the election. Long before the election, charges and countercharges have been heard about including of the names of ghost voters on the voters' lists and about stealing money from the election fund. The war of statements restarted after remaining silent for some time. The embezzlement charge had been made by no other person but the president of the state Congress himself. The general secretaries are abusing the president. The air has become polluted with abuses, charges, and countercharges. It appears that after a long sleep, Congress has reawakened. At present, all Congress members are busy quarrelling among themselves, postponing fights and movement against the CPM [Communist Party of India-Marxist]. Where, in which district, and in which block, who enlisted how many voters—these kinds of calculations are in full swing. In the meantime, the factional leaders began to meet secretly in different groups. Into the middle of the night, the leaders are busy chalking out their strategies. Speculations, such as, if Pranab Mukherjee is not unanimously elected as president, who else might run for the position. Or, if Mamta Bannerjee contests for the president's post and Somen-Subrata factions united to oppose her, what might the result be? Or, if there is a contest between Priya Ranjan and Somen, what would happen? These kinds of speculations have occupied the minds of the Congress members of the state.

But still, it has to be admitted that in spite of everything this election is necessary. The Congress workers of the new generation did not see any organizational election within the party. During last 20 years, no elections were never held in the party. Everything was controlled from Delhi on an "ad hoc" basis. Who would be the president of the state Congress and how many years he would remain in that position—these types of important matters had been decided by the wish of a single person from Delhi, which is 1,200 km away. A rootless and all-powerful body named "High Command" used to decide the fate of the president of the state unit of the party and of the state ministers. During last two decades, the Congress workers and supporters used to see this practice. And this "High Command" meant either Indira or Rajiv, respectively, as long as they lived—this truth was known even to a little boy. On their orders, the state leadership was instantly changed and the chief ministers had to resign without notice. For this reason, in Congress politics, everybody did everything looking toward Delhi. The meetings of AICC [All India Congress Committee] or the Working Committee were not regularly convened.

The importance of those bodies gradually reached to the lowest level. Both Indira and Rajiv were prime ministers and Congress presidents. Their say was the law and the final direction. The Congress party carried on its existence by revolving them.

In the Centenary Conference of the Congress in 1985, Rajiv, the leader of the new generation, spoke of many good things. He expressed his desire to purify the party and to free it from the hands of the power lovers. And he also agreed to hold the organizational election in the party. But six years passed and no election was held. At least for four times, after making all of the preparation, the election was not held. Kamalapati Tripathi, the working president of the party, wrote a letter protesting the inclusion of false names in the voters' lists. There was a hue and cry all over the country about this. But in the final result, elections were not held. Now, after Narasimha Rao's coming to power, it appears that elections are really going to occur.

Many within the Congress argue that Congress is like that of a common platform and it is not a cadre-based party like the CPM. The tradition of Congress is a leadership-based one. The party is organized centering around the leaders. It is difficult to find the logic behind this argument. History states that during the freedom movement period, Congress was really a common anti-imperialist platform consisting of different groups and parties of different opinions. The socialist-communists as well as the believers in orthodox communal Hinduism—all were in Congress. But after independence, when multiparty democracy was established in the country, there was no need for the existence of Congress as a common platform. All of the parties have to contest the election on the basis of separate structural organizations and with declared objectives and programs of their own. Congress is no exception in this respect. There must be difference of opinions inside the party as is the case of all other parties. Those difference of opinions have to be resolved through discussion and, like all other parties, Congress has to come up with an unanimous decision. An atmosphere of healthy debate and the right to express different views must be created within the party and by this, real democracy will be established.

If that is not done, the events of the last two years in the socialist world has shown us what might be the condition of that party. If there is no democracy inside the party and everything is dictated by a single person, then what is the difference in character between that party and the Nazi or Fascist parties? Always, the opposition parties bring this matter in their criticism of Congress. A few days ago in Siliguri, Jyoti Basu brought this aspect to his discussion while praising his own party. He made charges, such as, Congress did not have any organizational election for last 20 years and everything is dictated from Delhi, etc. Yes, he told the truth. The all-powerful leaders of the Congress, by their own activities, gave others the opportunity to criticise the Congress as a party.

Some good results are expected if the election is really held. Those are: (1) Political looking toward Delhi will be ended. The elected committees of the different states will be able to make their own decisions after reviewing their own situations. (2) Elected committees from the booth to the district level will work around the year. The opinion of the worker of the lowest level will be important. (3) The politics of the leader sitting in Calcutta making statements would end. Leaders will have to earn the confidence of the common people and have to work in their districts if they want to be elected. (4) The loosely knitted Congress would get a strong organizational structure in different states, which would be of a great help to the party at the time of election. (5) No one will be able to make a statement in the newspaper against the president or the committee of the party based on the strength of one's close ties to Delhi. The elected committee will have the power to take disciplinary action against the person and even could punish him. (6) The days of the leaders, who were placed in power from Delhi, will end.

Nobody knows ultimately what will happen. But the ordinary workers of Congress hope that after the election the party will be more organized. An opportunity has come to Congress to become an organized and disciplined party. Sincere, efficient, and qualified workers will get an opportunity to come to the forefront and the days of the factional leaders would end. Let me conclude by repeating the proverb with which I started—"praise a fair day at night." Because, the party is after all Congress.

Reasons for Fracturing of Janata Dal Examined

92AS0577A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 23 Jan 92
p 5

[Article by Kumar Anand: "Behind Ajit Singh's Shattering the Foundation"]

[Text] The Janata Dal, which emerged 3 and ½ years ago as a middle-of-the-road option, is suffering today under the control of "Persian emperors." It has lost its direction and policy. Rather than giving direction to national politics, the Janata Dal leaders do not even know which way to go themselves. The Janata Dal's control has been limited to only two states—Bihar and Orissa. The central leadership of the Janata Dal is not in any position to have any control over these two states. Now, Laluprasad Yadav does not need V.P. Singh; however, V.P. Singh needs Laluprasad Yadav. As for Biju Patnayak, he did not ever let any outside leaders sow any seeds in Orissa. During the 16 November by-elections for the Lok Sabha, not only V.P. Singh but all national leaders were not permitted to enter Orissa. Everybody knows about the strife between the national president, Somappa Rayappa Bommai, and former Chief Minister Rama Krishna Hegde in Karnataka. After Ajit Singh's departure, there is a lull in the battlefield of Uttar Pradesh. The difference over shaking hands with Mulayam Singh Yadav, however, is being widely expressed. In the remaining states, the nominal presence of the Janata Dal is not very peaceful.

The Janata Dal is under so many different pressures that it is very difficult for it to emerge proudly in the present situation. There is no indication that Orissa's Chief Minister, Biju Patnayak, and Karnataka's former Chief Minister, Rama Krishna Hegde, have given up their pro-Congress speeches. The Janata Dal leaders with socialist backgrounds have returned with the idea of creating a new party. They are determined, however, to keep everything separate. The resolutions passed in the 19 to 20 January 1992 meeting of the Janata Dal working committee are also part of their internal strife. Biju Patnayak's demand for a federation was presented as a proposal. Even though the party has prepared this proposal under the leadership of Rama Krishna Hegde and with the help of Inder Kumar Gujral, Madhu Dandvate, and Chander Jit Yadav, Biju Patnayak distributed a parallel proposal in the working committee. There was a superficial discussion about social justice in political and economic proposals; however, the Mandla Commission was not mentioned, simply in order to console the angered middle class. The proposal to include the 60-percent formula was passed, but it was mentioned only very quietly. In order to make George Fernandes angry at the party, the words "national and self-dependence" were repeatedly mentioned in various proposals. Secretary General Sharad Yadav had mentioned George Fernandes as an agent of the Congress party in an interview. Later, however, he had taken it back. Still, George Fernandes is angry. He has not attended party meetings for several months. Surinder Mohan has also submitted his resignation from the membership of the political affairs committee. The matter about the fractured Janata Dal does not end with Ajit Singh. During the discussion about the federation, state leaders in the working committee did not leave anyone out in accusing and cursing one another. The cold war between Rama Sunder Das, Bihar's party president, and Chief Minister Laluprasad Yadav can emerge above the surface at any time. Mr. Das has given notice to three state ministers—Magnil Mandal, Kafil Ahmed Kaifi, and Faiz Bhagulpuri—Lok Sabha member Mohammed Ali Ashraf Fatmi, and Vidhan Sabha member Baijnath Panday for indiscipline. Mr. Das has complained that there are different standards for discipline for the influential and the weak members in the working committee. Meanwhile, Mr. Fatmi and Devender Yadav of the Lalu camp, who were angry at Mr. Das, have demanded that he submit his resignation. In Madhya Pradesh, anger against legislative leader Ramanand is prevalent everywhere. In the working committee, Ramanand has opposed every program that Yamuna Prasad Shastri and Raghu Thakur proposed. He has accused them of anti-party activities and establishing a socialist platform. Raghu Thakur replied to this accusation by suggesting that two observers be sent and another election of the legislative group be held to clean up the situation. Similarly, the anti-Biju Patnayak groups (a very small camp), led by Srikant Jaina and Nilmani Rautre, are fighting with each other.

It does not matter whether Ajit Singh leaves the Janata Dal and forms a new party or if he joins the Congress party. This will not be the end of the breakup of the Janata Dal. It would actually be the beginning. Mr. Raj Mohan Gandhi says about the future of the Janata Dal, "It is very difficult to make predictions in politics, but I am not very enthusiastic now. A party can become strong if there is unity at every level during the election; however, I am not very optimistic about such a development." Ajit Singh also says, "As long as there is the shadow of V.P. Singh on this party, it has no future. The socialist group will separate in a few days. George has said that in Wardha. Biju Patnayak has nothing to do with V.P. Singh. It would be totally wrong to call Lalu's government a government that represents the principles of our party. The legislative group decides on candidates here, and he rejects them. It has yet to be decided in Puri on what principles the election ticket will be issued. He does not listen to them. The party is almost extinct now. A few people are united just to remain in power.

As for Laluprasad's government in Bihar, it will never meet the criteria for a successful and effective government. Trade and industry are leaving the state, and crime and criminals are flourishing. Laluprasad's political game with a robot-like Dularchand Yadav has given a hint to the people, and this scares them. Progress is being blocked there. All educational employees have been on strike for the last 60 days in this state. The whole state is moving toward bankruptcy; however, the largest cabinet ever formed by a chief minister is enjoying a life of luxury. Did V.P. Singh leave the Congress party with the dream of such an "ideal government?" But can he or Somappa Rayappa Bommai, the party president, have the courage to give clear directions or criticism to the governments formed by their own parties? Instead, Laluprasad Yadav told in clear and civil language to V.P. Singh on 16 November during the Lok Sabha by-elections that it was not necessary for him to come to Bihar. Mr. Yadav claimed to be able to take care of things by himself. V.P. Singh wanted to go to Bihar to speak in support of the candidate for the by-elections. It was Mr. Bommai himself who had informed V.P. Singh about the schedule in Bihar.

Laluprasad Yadav, by awakening caste pride for conceit and fascinating the Muslim voters with his political achievements, has prepared a solid base for himself. When Laluprasad came to Delhi for the first time after becoming Bihar's chief minister, the news correspondents surrounded him as if he was a new animal in the political zoo. Today, whatever Laluprasad Yadav says is heard by the people, even if it is simple egotism. In the whirlwind of his politics, even the dirty laundry of maladministration is shining on the horizon. Even his critics will admit that if elections are held in the near future, it would not be surprising if Laluprasad received the majority vote. Because of these election arithmetic, the Lok Sabha members from Bihar did not have the courage to support Ajit Singh, in spite of their dissatisfaction. The uncivilized attitude of Lalu in Laluprasad's

style has forced the ministers and legislators to swallow the bitter pills of insults. The attitude is not to meet the backward castes, in simple language it means Yadavs. The situation in different and negative environments (which will not happen very soon), however, could make Lalu Yadav another Om Parkash Chautala.

Orissa's Chief Minister, Mr. Patnayak, speaks a lot but is very careful about his needs. He praises the Congress party in order to get benefits for his state. At the same time, he wants to make sure that his prestige among the Janata Dal leaders remains. He expresses sympathy for Ajit Singh one day, and then at the same time, he makes a proposal for his expulsion. He presents himself as part of the Janata Dal and tells Ajit Singh that if it is necessary to divide the party in the Lok Sabha, then his two Lok Sabha members will support him. It is not surprising that he is keeping the Congress party puzzled, telling it that if they need a majority, he will offer his Lok Sabha members to it. All in all, Biju Patnayak is an expert in realizing his selfish needs.

Selfishness and convenience have become the prevalent qualities of the Janata Dal. Candidates for the Lok Sabha by-elections in Madhepura, Amethi, Bulandshaher, and Dhenkhal were not changed because of some policy; they were changed for the convenience of V.P. Singh, Biju Patnayak, Ajit Singh, Laluprasad, and Sharad Yadav. The Janata Dal leaders who accused Rajiv Gandhi of depending on Ghulam Nabi Azad, Sitaram Kesri, and Buta Singh have the strange tendency now of depending on such leaders as Mufti Mohammed Sayyed, Inder Kumar Gujral, Somappa Rayappa Bommai, and Sharad Yadav.

Sharad Yadav was the major reason that Ajit Singh left the Janata Dal. We cannot forget Sharad Yadav's contributions in making Laluprasad chief minister. Similarly, Laluprasad Yadav contributed to making Sharad Yadav the secretary general of the party. Laluprasad is the center of V.P. Singh's strength now, and he can no longer be ignored. Before the Lok Sabha elections, it was decided that Ajit Singh would be made chairman of the party's legislative board. Later, however, V.P. Singh demanded that Sharad Yadav be made secretary general as a condition. Ajit Singh was not prepared for this. He says, "Was I not ready? Was Biju ready for Sharad? V.P. Singh did all this because he could not get any position. He was unable to succeed in forming a group. Nobody had opposed me; however, Biju, Arun Nehru, George, and Hegde were not ready for Sharad. V.P. Singh had not only told me, but he had also promised Surjit (CPM Secretary General Harkishan Singh Surjit) that he would make me the vice chairman of the legislative board. At the time, he did not say, 'if this does not happen, then that will not happen either.'"

Rashid Massaud tells the story with full background. "V.P. Singh had raised the slogan of income ceiling for all position holders in the Puri convention (9-10 February 1991). Before that, there were talks about reorganizing the whole party. V.P. Singh promised Harkishan

Singh Surjit and me that he would make Ajit Singh the chairman of the legislative board. We said that Ajit Singh should be given the number-two position in the party. V.P. Singh started the mischief about income limitations that could be popular but was not practical. One reason for this was to eliminate Ajit Singh. V.P. Singh believed that his own leadership was well-established, and that it did not matter whether he was president or not. He could not become prime minister now. He decided to try to divide the minor leaders so that nobody could beat him in influence. He decided that Ajit Singh was the most influential leader, and he could not establish his leadership without cutting him off. Therefore, he established this income ceiling that was against Ajit Singh." In this context, Janata Dal Vice President Ramvilas Paswan tells less, and hides more. "Whatever is decided is decided by V.P. Singh, Bommai, and Ajit Singh. It is their personal decision; I cannot participate in that decision." Sharad Yadav also says the same thing. "Before the election, we all gave our opinion in front of V.P. Singh and asked him to decide who would have each position. However, he (Ajit Singh) did not let it happen. If he had asked me, I would have given up my claim. There is no basis for all these talks."

Secretary General Harikishore Singh said, "A political party does not operate like a shovel; it operates like a plow. All in all, our party seems to have decided to join the Congress party. Those people who have not experienced political struggle and are in the process of cashing in their families' political investment cannot live without being in the government." Ajit Singh, however, says about Congress, "As for joining the Congress party, I am not going to do so. Soon after the election, though, V.P. Singh telephoned our Rajya Sabha member, Mohammed Afzal, who was in Saudi Arabia. He told him there was no alternative left but to join the Congress party. As for meeting with Prime Minister Narsimha Rao, V.P. Singh meets him more frequently than I do."

Rashid Massaud repeats Ajit Singh's statement; however, his statement shows his love for the Congress party. He was asked if any talks with Congress were held to discuss future political equations. Mr. Massaud answered, "Talks like that always take place; however, no concrete decision was made. I do admit one thing—I had insisted to V.P. Singh, for the sake of our national unity, that he announce that if other party members do not go against the election statement, then he will not let the government fall for four years. We should strengthen our party during this period. Both the Congress party and the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] will lose their dignity if they remain in the government. This will benefit us."

In Ramvilas Paswan's opinion, the rift between V.P. Singh and Ajit Singh started when Ajit Singh began to extend his hand to the Congress party. This can be said about V.P. Singh, too, because he himself had told Mohammed Afzal that there was no alternative but to join the Congress party. Mr. Paswan said, "Saying something about someone is one thing; implementing that

statement is an entirely different thing. Everyone knows that Ajit Singh has not only supported the Congress party, but also that he has a rough idea that Congress lacks 22 seats. If he moves 22 members from here to there, then not only will the government become stable, but he will become a part of it. He did not make a secret of these plans; he even told me about them."

When did this second breakup of the Janata Dal start? (The first was Chandar Shekhar-Devilal.) The seeds of this breakup were sown when the recommendations of the Mandal Commission were implemented. Says Harkishore Singh, "The Mandal-related policy, which was implemented without any planning, had some effect." Rajmohan Gandhi also agrees. "The first mistake was committed in 1989, during the general elections, when legislative leaders were elected through a nondemocratic process. The second mistake was not holding party elections. The Janata Dal's priorities have been wrong." He has hinted toward the Mandal Commission's recommendations. Ramlakhan Singh Yadav says, "I am saddened to see that some Janata Dal leaders want to keep the reservations issue hanging on, rather than making a decision on it. These leaders, who consider themselves the messiahs of the backward and the downtrodden, say that if the reservations issue is implemented, we will have no goal left. In other words, the Mandal Commission is still causing a lot of problems within the Janata Dal. Rama Krishna Hegde put an advertisement in newspapers during the last Lok Sabha elections that claimed the BJP also supported the Mandal Commission. The reason for this was the politics in Karnataka. The basis of strength for the Janata Dal in Karnataka is the higher castes. The increasing influence of the BJP on them resulted in this advertisement. Perhaps Hegde, who had been suffering from the Mandal problem, never mentioned the word 'Mandal' in any of the resolutions introduced during the last working committee meeting."

The V.P. Singh camp has always declared Ajit Singh anti-Mandal Commission. Ajit Singh's main source of support are the Jat [farming caste] voters. The Jats were angry at him because of the Mandal Commission, and this bothered him. He had tried to include the Jats in the Mandal Commission. Ramvilas Paswan, then social welfare minister, was responsible for implementing the Mandal recommendation. He says, "It is true that Ajit Singh was never in favor of the Mandal Commission. Devilal was strongly opposed to it." But he also says, "Nobody opposed the Mandal Commission in the Cabinet meeting." According to Mufti Mohammed Sayyed, chairman of the legislative board, "Ajit Singh has adopted a dichotomous attitude. He had been telling people in eastern Uttar Pradesh that the Mandal Commission was his product, and while traveling in western Uttar Pradesh, he spoke against the Mandal Commission."

Commenting on the efforts to include the Jats in the Mandal Commission, Ajit Singh said, "Not only I, but Madhu Limye tried not only to include the Jats but also the backward farmers, who have nothing to do with

getting employment. At the insistence of Madhu Limye, 100 legislators had signed the proposition." Was this also the reason for his disagreement with V.P. Singh? Ajit Singh replied, "There might be some reason, and this could be it. Chowdhery Charan Singh had united the backward castes from Amritsar to Patna, and V.P. Singh had tried to break them up. Because of this conspiracy, he himself broke down, and he does not understand it all, even today."

He gets very angry at V.P. Singh's love for the backward people. Says he, "What commitments does V.P. Singh have to the backward castes? Everybody knows it. He replaced Kailashnath Yadav with a raja, Revti Raman Singh, as the leader of the opposition. In Amethi, he removed a Muslim and had Ram Singh run for election. (Ajit Singh did the same thing in Bulandshehar.) There never was any lower caste employee in his personal staff, and there is none now."

Away from all these accusations and counter-accusations and busy in self-analysis, Mufti Sayyed said, "I am no less guilty than anyone else. Because of our internal conflicts, we could not unite our party. V.P. Singh's being busy in the election campaign is not enough. He should now pay attention to the party itself. He must change his working style."

What is the future of the Janata Dal in this whole situation? According to Ramvilas Paswan, "there is a future for the Janata Dal. The Mandal Commission was given by the Janata Dal. The law to establish the status quo of 15 August 1977 was made because of us, in order to help resolve the Babri Masjid-Rama Janambhumi conflict. Kalyan Singh, Bangrappa, and Sudhakar Rao Nayak became chief ministers as a result of our policies."

On this topic, Rashid Massaud says, "If we look at the Janata Dal with V.P. Singh included in it, then this breakup of the party sounds like a serial told in four parts. The Janata Dal will be buried in the end. At first, my estimate was that it would happen in three months; however, there could be a little more time. Biju Patnayak says something else. Sharad Pawar is still at home, cursing V.P. Singh and Ramvilas. Ramvilas is saying one thing and George is saying something else. How will all of this work?" In the V.P. Singh camp of the Janata Dal, Sharad Yadav and Lalu Yadav do not get along with Ramvilas Paswan. It is true; however, Paswan says, "Is the personal relationship between Advani and Bajpai in the BJP good? Is it good between Narsimha Rao and Sharad Pawar in the Congress Party?"

Ajit Singh aggressively says about V.P. Singh, "How can a person who changes his politics all the time have good relations with his assistants and associates?" George Fernandes talks about opposing the liberalization of economic policy. George should ask V.P. Singh how this liberalization started during Rajiv Gandhi's time? Lalu and V.P. Singh have many political relations. Lalu does not let V.P. Singh enter Bihar. Biju Patnayak does not

allow V.P. to enter Orissa. The whole working committee and the leaders in Rajasthan have told V.P. Singh not to come to their state. V.P. Singh is associated with Jayapal Reddy, who hopes to become the leader of Andhra Pradesh. He is with Madhu Dandavate; therefore, he visited Maharashtra.

Ramlakhan Singh Yadav, standing right at the doors of the Janata Dal, says, "We do not know when the Janata Dal will break up; however, it has already been divided between Ajit Singh and V.P. Singh. In the socialist conference held in Pune, George Fernandes talked about the possibility of a third and new party." Harkishore Singh says, "The party has not broken up. It has been salvaged." In the opinion of Paswan and Sharad Yadav, "Except for the four people who have quit the party, no one else is going out." At this point, Ajit Singh says, "Until the party is fully broken up, people will naturally believe that nobody is supporting them. You (news correspondents) have not recognized any breakup process. Have you ever recognized that Madhya Pradesh is with Chandra Shekhar?" At this, Rashid Massaud says, "We do not think there will be any problem with the lawmakers. There has been some delay; however, it is not impossible."

It does not matter whether Ajit Singh succeeds in breaking up the legislative group by taking one-third of the Lok Sabha members; it is clear that the Janata Dal's role as a national party is over. Seeing the internal strife of the Janata Dal, we can definitely say in this time of mixed politics that all these leaders have a tendency to break up with each other. This tendency will show its effects at one time or another. The 16 November by-election in Uttar Pradesh clearly shows that the Muslims there consider Congress to be capable of competing with the BJP better than the Janata Dal, which has been greatly weakened due to internal problems. Both the Lok Sabha members of Uttar Pradesh—Rashid Massaud and Haji Ghulam Mohammed—have joined Ajit Singh. Even before Kalyan Singh, a backward class member, became chief minister, non-Yadav backward classes voted for the BJP in large numbers. Therefore, the Janata Dal does not have a monopoly over the backward castes. Kalyan Singh will reduce the number even more. The Yadav caste people are still interested in Mulayam Singh Yadav. The Janata Dal still has control in Bihar. Leading in only two states—Bihar and Orissa—and being number-two in two other states—Uttar Pradesh and Karnataka—does now show much promise for this party.

However, it is not possible that the Janata Dal will disappear. It has anti-BJP and anti-Congress tendencies and a tradition of working in the opposition for decades. Just like the Socialist Party, Pradesh Socialist Party, Bharatiya Karanti Dal, Marxist Lok Dal, Janata Part, and Lok Dal, the Janata Dal will find a middle-of-way political option for itself. If the remaining Janata Dal leaders succeed in making the impossible possible, then the failure of the new economic policy can help them,

and in politics, there are impossible leaders who become possible, such as P.V. Narsimha Rao.

There has been no party chairman in Maharashtra for the last six months. The youth section of the party was formed only at top level, but it did not make much progress. The leadership has been missing for the last year. The student party has not been formed for the last 3 and ½ years. The original party could not reach the state level. After the meeting of the present working committee, there seems to be some seriousness about the party for the first time. Remembering our past experiences, however, not much hope is seen there.

Vishwa Hindu Parishad Studies Ownership Patterns

92AS0626A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
11 Jan 92 p 1

[Article by Nichiketa Desai: "Gujarat Survey Aims To Evict Muslims from Prime Areas"]

[Text] Ahmedabad, 10 January—The Vishwa Hindu Parishad [VHP] has embarked upon a consensus and land records survey in Gujarat to take stock of the real estate ownership pattern among Hindus and Muslims in over 18,000 villages and all the towns and cities of the state.

The survey would provide the VHP leadership with the necessary data to enable it to formulate short-term and long-term strategies aimed at safeguarding the interests of the Hindu community in communally-sensitive areas.

"A series of communal riots has generated a feeling of insecurity among both Hindus and Muslims who have been residing in mixed localities. Recurring violence has compelled both Hindus and Muslims to sell off their ancestral property and resettle in exclusively Hindu and Muslim localities. We want to ensure that the Hindus do not sell their property in distress at throwaway prices and the Muslims do not buy up prime property," explained the state VHP vice-president, Dr. Pravin Togadia.

Dr. Togadia said the survey would help the VHP draw up a "boundary line" in all the major towns and cities beyond which the Muslims do not expand. "We will establish border check-posts on this border manned by Bajrang Dal volunteers to instil a sense of security among the Hindus," he said.

The VHP has already set up such a "border check-post" in the communally-sensitive Bapunagar area of Ahmedabad city. Dr. Togadia claimed that no Hindu has sold his property in the area after the Bajrang Dal volunteers set up their office a year back.

"We bring social pressure on the Hindu landlords and prevent them from selling their property to the Muslims," Dr. Togadia said. It was while some Bajrang Dal

volunteers intervened in a property dispute in Bapunagar area that violent clashes erupted between the two communities on 1 January, resulting in the death of a woman.

The VHP had to issue a directive to its members to restrain themselves as the Bharatiya Janata Party's Kanyakumari to Kashmir ekta yatra was scheduled to arrive in the city three days later.

The VHP has planned to open its branches in all the villages of Broach and Kutch district in the next two years. The two districts have the highest concentration of Muslim population in the state.

According to Dr. Togadia, the VHP was now in the process of consolidating its support base among the Hindus by organising regular "religious," martial" and "developmental" programmes. While the religious programmes which include holding of prayer meetings and reading sessions of holy scriptures are meant for elderly men and women, martial arts such as karate would be taught to the younger people.

The VHP has already recruited full-time organisers and plans to raise their number to 4,000 within the next two years.

Communal Harmony Between Hindus, Muslims Termed Urgent

92AS0576B Calcutta AAJKAAL in Bengali 20 Jan 92
p 4

[Article by Arun Shouri: "Let the Hindus and the Muslims Be Friends"]

[Text] After the Hindu-Muslim riot, 230 persons were arrested in Rajasthan as a precautionary measure. They were arrested in two phases—one in November 1989 and the other in March 1990 under the Suppression of Terrorism Act. In the meantime, two years have passed, but the majority of them are still in jail. Among these 230 persons, 120 are Muslims, 95 are Sikhs, and the remainder, about 15, are Hindus. According to the Muslims of Rajasthan, the state government would not release those 120 persons as they are Muslims. In that riot, those who were mainly hurt were Muslims. But the Muslims arrested outnumbered the Hindus. All were charged with terrorism and possession of firearms. But the Home minister of Rajasthan stated in the Bidhan Sava (state assembly) that no weapon was found in the possession of 178 persons out of 228 arrested. But in spite of these findings, the way the matter of release is being handled, no one can deny that there is definitely a tilt toward the non-Muslim prisoners. In the meantime, some Hindu prisoners were released by appealing directly to the High Court, sidestepping the special court which was formed to try the cases under the Suppression of Terrorism Act. But nothing of that sort happened in the case of the Muslims. The High Court did not accept the appeals and the process by which the special court rules is very strict. Several appeals were made on behalf

of the Muslim prisoners. But the special court did not accept those appeals on the ground that no definite charge had yet been made against them. Sometime after the charges were filed, the court said that the charges were so serious that they could not be granted bail. When these unfortunate prisoners were arrested, Congress was in power in Rajasthan. After that, the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]-led coalition government was formed in Rajasthan. Today, the common Muslim citizens believe that those people are in jail without trial simply because they are Muslims. Attempts were made repeatedly from different circles to drop the cases against them. But nothing happened. The Muslim social workers and members of congress appealed and canvassed in New Delhi. The matter was raised in Parliament. The central leadership discussed the matter with the Rajasthan government several times. But no solution was found. Ultimately, the matter has become a status issue for the BJP government of Rajasthan. Those, who took up the cases on behalf of the Muslims, were also warned.

Only a few have been released on bail. Others are still in jail. Nobody knows what will happen to them or when they will be released. Everything is in darkness. Similar things are happening everyday in today's India that happened in the case of the Jodhpur prisoners. Police arrest some people, but nobody is found in the government who can spare some time and have the courage to say that due to lack of evidence these people should be released. The Jodhpur prisoners' case is a well-known and well-publicized matter. But if we look around, we can see that so many innocent people are arrested by the police wrongly suspected and sometimes they were not even told about their offenses. A few days ago, one scientist was arrested on the charge of taking some secret information to a foreign country. It was later learned that all the papers he was taking with him were manuscripts of his doctoral thesis. Some years have passed, but the person remains in jail. During all these years, no one was found to have looked into the matter of whether this person had received proper justice or whether he should be released.

The number of Muslims arrested are not much less than those who have been arrested under the Suppression of Terrorism Act. Day after day, the ordinary Muslims are looking at the politics of Sahabuddin and Imam Bukhari. They also noted that after the success Shahabanu and Rushdie were suppressed and the kind of reaction emerging from the Hindu minds after seeing that suppression. They are also seeing how an all-India political party is exploiting that reaction-filled atmosphere. The Muslims can understand that, with the passage of time, the reaction of the Hindus would be stronger and violent. Side by side, they can see that after the dissolution of the communist block, the western world has turned its attention to the Muslim world. It would cause an anti-Islam reaction in India, and in fact, it has already started. The domestic picture of is more hazy. Today, the Muslims cannot depend on the leftist parties or the Janata party. Even they cannot trust Congress fully.

They feel that the political parties think about the Muslims only as a vote depositor. They simply try to get some concessions for the Muslims to get the Muslim vote in the election. Besides this, they have no desire to do anything good for the Muslims.

Under these circumstances, there is only one way to get around the situation. Efforts should be made to develop a completely secular political atmosphere in the country. The main basis of these politics should be the individual and not the group. There should be a direct link between the state and the person and secular laws must be strictly implemented. Everyone will be equal in the eye of the law and there must not be any exception. No one would be allowed to do anything in the name of religion. Does this kind of politics sound like a cock-and-bull story? It is not impossible, and at least we can give it a try. How? We, the common citizens, can sit together in small groups irrespective of caste, creed, or religion and begin to discuss our problems. This kind of group discussion could begin at the village or block level. In these group discussions, we could speak our minds freely and openly. There should not be any attempt to force other people to understand someone else's views; that it is not possible at this stage. We can carry out these kinds of discussions until such time that we can understand each other's views clearly and logically. Second, social relations and communication between the Hindus and the Muslims should be restarted. And it must be done by ourselves without the help of the leaders. A few days ago in a seminar in Allahabad, Syed Nakvi, came up with a beautiful idea. He said, "In this auditorium, so many spectators are present, some of you must be Hindus and some of you must be Muslims. May I propose that those of you who are Hindus, please resolve that you will take one Muslim as a friend. Those of you who are Muslims, please do the same. Gradually, you would develop your friendship to such depths that you could arrange the marriage of your children without caring about the advice of anyone. If the social relationship of the Hindus and the Muslims could be placed on such a solid base that the intermarriage among the Hindus and Muslims could take place one after another on the basis of friendship, the future of India is bound to change. And that would take place soon."

Defense Minister Meets With Calcutta Press

92AS0705A Madras INDIAN EXPRESS in English
12 Feb 92 p 9

[Article: "Pawar Warns Pak Against Use of Nuclear Option"]

[Text] Calcutta—Mr. Sharad Pawar, the Defence Minister, on Tuesday warned Pakistan of severe consequences if it tried to use the nuclear option against India.

Speaking to the press in Calcutta, Mr. Pawar said India was aware of the fact that its hostile neighbour was in possession of a nuclear bomb. "But we are in a position to scuttle Pakistan's war designs," he said.

The Defence Minister, who arrived in the city on Monday evening on a three-day visit, met Chief Minister Jyoti Basu in Writers' Building on Tuesday afternoon. At the meeting which lasted almost an hour, the two, it is understood, discussed issues ranging from the possibility of a war with Pakistan to problems faced by India in the supply of spares for defence equipment; from the restructured Russia to the severe financial strain the country was currently in to the leftists' stand vis-a-vis the Narasimha Rao government at the Centre.

Addressing an informal press conference which was mostly dominated by questions on the current tension between India and Pakistan, Mr. Pawar said that right now the chances of a war with Pakistan was little. "Otherwise, I would not have been in Calcutta now." He, however, added that Pakistan's leaders were "an unpredictable lot" who had a fine reputation of shifting positions.

As evidence of Pakistan's frequent change of stand with regard to India, Mr. Pawar said that only the other day Mr. Nawaz Sharif, the Pakistan Prime Minister, had told his Indian counterpart, Mr. Rao, in Davos that 1992 would be observed as "a year of reconciliation." But within 48 hours, Pakistan had started playing a different tune by issuing threats to India.

This apart, it was a well-known fact that Pakistan had been consistently making attempts to instigate militant activity in the trouble-torn Jammu and Kashmir.

India, he said, was opposed to the idea of entering into a war with its neighbour and creating a zone of tension in the sub-continent. Besides, India could always respect the mood of the people across the world which was most certainly anti-war.

Mr. Pawar said: "It appears that Pakistan is in a mood to create tension between the two countries. It is mindset to violate the Shimla Agreement. But if our neighbour wants to impose war on us, we will fight back. Not only that, we will teach that country a lesson."

To a question, the Minister said till 12.45 p.m. on Tuesday, there was no report of anyone trying to forcibly enter the Indian territory in Kashmir bordering Pakistan. About 25 persons were arrested by the Pak paramilitary forces in Poonch and Chakoti sectors located within Pakistan for raising anti-India slogans. "India will not cross the border. At the same time, we will not allow anyone to enter our territory."

To another, Mr. Pawar said Pakistan was currently faced with economic and political crises and this might have prompted the country to raise a war cry. The other possible reason for Pakistan's attempts to create tension on the borders might be to put India under a severe financial strain.

What is the role of the United States in respect with the Kashmir problem? Mr. Pawar said that the USA had adopted a strong line against Pakistan.

Naxalite Movement, Solutions Viewed

92P40122A Madras *DINAMANI* in Tamil
15 Feb 92 p 4

[Editorial: "The Spreading Naxalite Problem"]

[Text] The Naxalites of the Maoist Communist Center have massacred more than 50 persons in a village in the Bihar State. It is said that this carnage in Bara village in Gaya District was committed by about 1,000 Naxalites wielding rifles, swords, and spears. They set fire to 15 houses and destroyed them.

There was no police protection for that village on the night of the massacre, which is said to have been committed in retaliation for the killing of 10 people on 23 December by members of the "Savarna Liberation Front," a private army of the landed Bhumihars [landlords] of the area.

The Naxalite attacks on a smaller scale have been taking place in the Coimbatore District of Tamil Nadu in connection with arable lands. In Eachanari near Coimbatore, a farmer's house and land were attacked by the Naxalites. In this attack, a politically influential farmer was murdered. Many of his family members were injured. Conflict of ownership of arable land is said to be at the root of this incident.

Three days ago, the Naxalites also shot to death a lumber contractor. Similar events are occurring in many states. The communist movement, which started in the 1960s against the landlords of Naxalbari District in West Bengal, and was active then, lost its momentum for a while because of fragmentation. But the factious Naxalites have continued to be active in an autonomous manner in villages, and at regional levels. This Naxalite cancer has spread to the states of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Assam, Orissa, and U.P. [Uttar Pradesh].

The villagers of Bara threw stones at Laloo Prasad Yadav, Bihar's chief minister, to chase him away when he visited there to assess the situation, thereby showing their bitterness at politicians.

In most cases, it is the fight for the ownership of arable land between landlords, tenants, and farmers, that results in these violent incidents. Landlords maintain private armies to protect themselves and their properties.

Even small conflicts grow into vindictive clashes. The jobless and educated youth find an outlet for their energies in the Naxalite movement, which gives them an opportunity to become extremists, and to engage in terrorist activities. These terrorist organizations flourish only in hilly and wooded areas.

Political parties have also depended on the Naxalites for engineering their victory in the elections. It is a well-known fact that in villages where the Naxalites are powerful, the government is under their influence and

the people have had to give their support and money as a price for their own protection. Ministers making trips immediately after violent carnages to assess the damages and to extend temporary security measures, will not actually help towards finding a lasting solution to this problem. The Naxalites also have the support of other terrorist groups and of some politicians as well. The center and the states must realize that the Naxalite movement is the result of a sociocultural problem and the attempt to take steps to alleviate that.

Many plans for creating jobs for youth are in existence. But the practice of taking bribes, of corruption, and the selfishness of politicians impedes the execution of these plans.

It is noteworthy that a prominent police officer recently remarked sadly, "The main reason for the growth and spread of the Naxalite movement in India is that there is widespread corruption, irregularities, and indiscipline in all walks of life."

Therefore, it is indispensable that the government create many jobs and formulate policies and rules for these jobs and benefits to reach the deprived, as well as plan towards the development of the areas inhabited by the backward peoples and aborigines.

In this area, the positive actions taken by the Andhra Pradesh Government during the past few months have produced good results. In the villages where the Naxalites have gained an entrance, and are starting to show their power, the government has started to counter by offering food, education, and medical facilities to meet the needs of these villagers. A floating medical unit has been established on the Godavari River and medical service is offered to residents on its shores.

An inherent weakness of terrorist organizations is that there is always friction between its leaders. The Naxalite movement in Andhra Pradesh has suffered from such frictions, and many young members have surrendered to the police.

Therefore, it must be understood that such terrorist movements are poisonous weeds, planted and nurtured by temporary socio-economic deficiencies, and should be nipped before they grow into large trees. The most effective measure is to rectify the causative socio-economic conditions.

Readjustment of Constituencies Planned

92AS0625A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 30 Jan 92
p 6

[Text] New Delhi, 29 January—The Union Cabinet has approved a proposal for setting up a fresh delimitation commission to readjust the Lok Sabha and State Assembly constituencies on the basis of the latest census.

The Law, Justice and Company Affairs Minister, Mr. K. Vijayabhaskara Reddy, said in an interview to PTI that the three-member commission would effect changes in

the reserved constituencies for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes on a rotational basis.

The Minister said the government would convene an all-party meeting soon to discuss comprehensive electoral reforms including State funding of elections. Other subjects on the agenda include issuance of identity cards to voters and measures to minimise the number of independent candidates, particularly the "non-serious" ones.

Mr. Reddy said the meeting would be convened soon after the Punjab polls.

The new delimitation commission would have three members, two of whom would be judges of either the Supreme Court or the High Courts while the Chief

Election Commissioner would be ex-officio member. The composition of the commission would be announced shortly.

The existing delimitation commission, set up under the Delimitation Act 1972, contained many infirmities and defects brought to the notice of the Election Commission by various individuals and organisations, he added.

As per representations made, certain villages are found as enclaves on some Assembly constituencies due to inadvertence. Inclusion or exclusion of certain areas in or from certain Assembly constituencies had caused considerable hardship to the local public. The population of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes was not exact and it was mere projection by the Registrar-General under the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Amendment) Order, 1976.

Military Experts Tell Production Plans, Capability

92AS0706A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 8 Feb 92
p 4

[Boldface words; quotation marks as published]

[Excerpts] Hyderabad, Feb. 7. Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, Director of Defence Research Development Laboratories (DRDL) has said that it is possible to develop an Indian Light Military Aircraft or a 120-seater jet passenger aircraft using our own resources before the end of this decade. "I can assure you, we can do it and we will do it and we have the capability, but the mission has to be bigger than individuals", he said here.

Dr. Abdul Kalam was speaking at the 43rd annual meeting of the Aeronautical Society of India, which was inaugurated by the Governor, Mr. Krishan Kant here today. The highlight of the two day meeting would be presentation by the Airbus Industries of France, British Aerospace and Rolls Royce.

Dr. Abdul Kalam said the Indian Space Research Organisation's programmes have given the country two successful experiences: one relating to building design capability with the technology competence being built in parallel, and the other technology acquisition in selected areas.

The missile programme was a breakthrough in advanced technologies within the country despite some international regulations. The Gulf war and the breakup of the Soviet Union have given the experience that certain cutting edge technologies need to be nurtured within the country, as they would not be available in all conditions, Dr. Kalam said.

Supersonic combustion: Globally, the energy levels of solid and liquid propulsion systems have reached saturation. India should therefore embark on supersonic combustion technology that can give 10 times higher energy levels, he said. One of the areas of research is the guidance technology for missiles. "Our experience in inertial guidance system has revealed that even with medium accuracy sensors, using on board compensation software, missions can be achieved. We hope to put into orbit in a decade Indian satellites to achieve higher sensor accuracy", he said. [passage omitted]

'Aircraft of the 2000s'

Our Bangalore Staff Reporter reports:

The Light Combat Aircraft (LCA) programme as and when it fructifies will replace the 'aging fleet of the IAF Indian Air Force]', particularly the MiG 21 type 77 aircraft which had outlived its life span of 20 years, said the Chief of Air Staff, Air Chief Marshal, N.C. Suri.

Speaking to reporters at the Air Force Technical College, Jalahalli, today he denied that the IAF was thinking of an alternative programme in view of the delay in the

execution of the LCA project. "There is a time frame for induction. The LCA is a multimode aircraft having stealth and fly by wire technology. It's an aircraft of the 2000s'.

More importantly the engine was being produced within the country and any indigenisation had to be supported. The IAF as a user supported such efforts as the country could ill afford dependence on other countries.

The Air Chief also denied that the delay in the project was due to the exacting demands IAF had placed on the Aeronautical Development Agency (ADA), the LCA executing agency. When a reporter persisted that ADA had stated so he said "I don't think ADA could have made such a statement'.

Asked whether anything had come out of the USA showing its willingness to supply sophisticated equipment, the Air Chief said 'from the IAF angle nothing concrete has happened. These are bilateral issues and the Government is involved'.

As far as the arrangements with the countries of the disintegrated Soviet Union were concerned they would continue. He added that India was 'reactive' to the happenings around.

To another question as to why the Government was 'dragging its feet' when it came to sanctioning advanced jet trainers, Mr. Suri said "My sector (Air Force) is not neglected. The Government is seized of the problem and it knows how to balance the defence forces".

Ready to fight: On the issue of the 'unfriendly neighbour committing acts uncalled for', the Air chief said "if a war is thrust on us we are ready to fight. Anyone along the border who wants to push us around will have to face the consequences. India has never initiated a war but is ready at all times. As far as we are concerned whatever the equipment balance is, we are alright. We do not go by hypothetical threats but by ground realities".

With regard to the defence budget outlay for the Eighth plan, he said he was unaware of its size, but added that the defence forces would make the best of what they got. The emphasis was on mastering each and every component, however old it was. There was a large percentage of obsolete equipment and a Committee was looking into the disposal aspect, he stated.

Navy Commissions First Indigenous Submarine

92AS0699A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 8 Feb 92 p 5

[Text] Bombay, February 7—India's indigenous defence technology crossed a major milestone today with the commissioning of "INS Shalki," the first submarine to be made in this country, by the Union defence minister, Mr. Sharad Pawar, into the Indian Navy.

With the commissioning of "Shalki," India joined the select club of nations as it had successfully done in the

case of atomic energy and space, to acquire the knowhow in the highly sensitive area of submarine manufacturing.

Significantly, the nation's first Indian-made submarine entered the Indian Navy when its submarine arm was observing its silver jubilee.

Addressing the gathering after commissioning the submarine, the defence minister said the construction of warships and submarines was a complex exercise and "Shalki," represented the nation's commitment to self-reliance and indigenisation.

The defence minister praised the facilities at Mazagon Dock Limited which, he said, was equipped to manufacture various types of ships.

Emphasising the important role of the Indian Navy, he said, that 97 percent of the country's trade passed through the sea and a vital item was carried by oil tankers.

The fishing industry earned foreign exchange which had to be protected. "Our navy has to be a responsible and so it should be a viable navy," he said.

The chief of naval staff, Admiral L. Ramdas, while emphasising the importance of keeping abreast of modern technology, said at the same time that everything costs money. "The nation spends a lot on defence and the Indian Navy," he said.

While stressing the need to consolidate technology, he also hoped for more money for future projects. "These staff requirements are so successful that they are being plagiarised," he said.

Speaking about the important role of the Indian Navy, he said, on an average, about 100 ships entered the

nation's ports in a particular period. This apart, India had a vast coastline and there were a number of vital installations in the sea.

Unlike the two other services—the army and the air force, who mainly handled threat situations—there was, on the other hand, a close link between the navy and the economic well-being of the country.

The naval chief said the navy did more and spent less. He hoped the other projects would be delivered on schedule.

The secretary of defence production and chairman of the project management board, Mr N. Raghunathan, was confident that Mazagon Dock was equipped to deal with any high technology area.

The chairman and managing director of Mazagon Dock Limited, Rear Admiral M.M. Puri, said that, to date, the dock had delivered six Leander class frigates, three Godavari class frigates, two Khukri class corvettes, one cadet training ship and a missile boat to the navy.

The dock was building three numbers project-15 destroyers which are the largest type of warships being built in India. Two more missile boats were also under construction, of which one would be commissioned in March 1992.

He said the facilities to build submarines were inaugurated by Mrs Indira Gandhi, on May 6, 1984 and Mazagon Dock undertook the construction of two submarines under the "transfer of technology," from HDW of Germany.

"I would like to point out that the special submarine construction facilities are idle now for want of further orders. We are aware that the Ministry of Defence and the navy are conscious of this fact and we hope they are exploring various possibilities for resuming submarine construction at an early date," he added.

Scientist on Progress in Missile Development

92AS0553A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 7 Jan 92 p 9

[Article by N. Suresh: "Indian Hyperplane To Be Ready By 2000"]

[Text] Baroda, January 6. The flight version of India's futuristic hyperplane, which will replace the expensive rocket-based satellite launch vehicle, will be ready by 2000. Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, the architect of India's successful missile programme, said here yesterday that two developed countries have agreed to join the hyperplane project. This will give a much-needed boost to the indigenous space programme and put the country among the top positions in the exclusive space club.

"We are going to sign agreements with the two countries in the next three months," said Dr. Kalam. He refused to identify the countries in view of the sensitive nature of the project.

Dr. Kalam was here to participate in the 79th session of the Indian science congress being held at M.S. University of Baroda.

He also announced that two more experimental launches of Agni, the indigenously-designed intercontinental ballistic missile, are scheduled shortly. The new versions will have an increased range, an improved control system guidance system and a re-entry shield.

Conceptualised nearly four years ago by Dr. Kalam, the hyperplane when ready, will be a technological wonder. The design ensures that it can take off from an ordinary runway, zoom into the atmosphere, launch satellites and return safely. Conventional satellite launch rockets are not reusable.

The hyperplane project, estimated to cost nearly Rs[rupees]10,000 crores, could not proceed from the conceptual stage due to lack of resources. With the involvement of two industrialised countries, probably France and the United States, the dream plane will soon become a reality. Dr. Kalam said the plane will have liquid hydrogen fuel. The engine is designed to collect liquid oxygen from the atmosphere at a height of 28 kms from the earth's surface for about 1000 seconds.

The liquid oxygen will oxidise the fuel to give it enough energy to zoom. India has already filed an international patent application for this method.

Apart from the reusability, the hyperplane will enable the launch of several satellites during one trip. The two proven rockets in use—the French Ariane and the American Titan—can carry only payloads which weigh three percent of the total launch vehicle load.

The European space agency is trying to improve this to five percent and the Americans to 10 percent. However, the hyperplane is designed to carry payloads weighing upto 15 percent the spacecraft's weight.

About the indigenous missile programme, Dr. Kalam said Prithvi (the surface-to-surface missile) and Trishul (the surface-to-air missile) will be produced later this year. The flight tests in the last few years have succeeded.

'Massive' Influx of Bangladeshis Reported

92AS0561A New Delhi PATRIOT in English 25 Dec 91
p 5

[Article: "Influx of B'deshi Nationals Up"]

[Text] Agartala, Dec 24 (UNI)—The influx of Bangladesh nationals in the border state of Tripura reached massive proportions this year.

According to official sources, over 20,000 foreigners have been detected and "pushed back and handed over to the Bangladesh Rifles" by the state police mobile task force and the Border Security Force. The incursion of aliens in 1990 stood at 14,900 and in the previous year at 10,000.

According to Chief Minister Sudhir Ranjan Majumder, "though the political situation in Dhaka has undergone changes after December 1971, there has been no change of character in the influx from Bangladesh." Tripura's 1971 population of about 1.6 million has now touched 2.8 million.

The State Government has taken a series of measures to stem the influx. These include issue of photo-affixed identity cards for all Indian citizens, ban on inclusion of fresh names in panchayat registers, setting up of nine mobile task force camps, construction of additional watch towers on the border and enlightening people of the dimensions of the problem.

A high-level committee has also been constituted to evolve other measures and prepare a detailed report on the issue. The Chief Minister is the chairman of the committee.

Senior CPI-M [Communist Party of India-Marxist] politburo member and former Chief Minister Nripen Chakraborty, said the influx from Bangladesh was "rising". In a recent letter to Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and Union Home Minister S.B. Chavan, Mr. Chakraborty, who is also the opposition leader in the State Assembly, alleged that the BJP's [Bharatiya Janata Party] Mandir-Masjid agitation was responsible for the rise in the number of attacks on minorities in Bangladesh. This, he said, had prompted the exodus to India.

Court Limits Scope of Antidefection Law

92AS0696A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 19 Feb 92 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, February 18—In a significant ruling in the anti-defection law judgment, the supreme court today held that a member of Parliament or state legislature can be disqualified for defying a whip only on two

counts—voting on a motion of confidence or no-confidence, and when the matter relates to the programmes and policies of the political party reports PTI.

Delivering its detailed reasons on the November 1991 judgment holding the anti-defection law constitutional while striking down para 7 a five-judge constitutional bench headed by Mr Justice L.M. Sharma held that “the disqualification imposed by Para 2(1)(B) must be so construed as not to unduly impinge on the said freedom of speech of a member.

“This would be possible if para 2(1)(B) is confined in its scope by keeping in view the object underlying the amendments contained in the tenth schedule, namely to curb the evil or mischief of political defections motivated by the lure of office or other similar considerations,” the court observed.

The court said the said object would be achieved if the disqualification incurred on the ground of voting or abstaining from voting by a member was confined to cases where a change of government was likely to be brought about or was prevented, as the case may be, as a result of such voting or abstinence.

In the alternative, the same could be said when such voting or abstinence was on a matter which was a major policy.

Retired Squadron Leader Held for Spying

92AS0618A New Delhi PATRIOT in English 18 Jan 92
p 1

[Article by Shailesh Shekhar: “Retired Squadron Leader Held for Spying”; quotation marks as published]

[Text] A retired squadron leader of the Indian Air Force [IAF] was arrested on charge of spying for Pakistan under the Official Secrets’ Act.

The squadron leader, Vijay Pal Sinha, who was nabbed outside the Pakistan High Commission in the Capital by the Central Bureau of Investigation [CBI], was found selling IAF’s technical details pertaining to air fields, radars, etc.

Vijay Pal Sinha, who had sought voluntary retirement in 1984, was arrested on 26 November 1991 with several incriminating documents. The CBI sources claimed that

they had been keeping a watch on the accused for one-and-a half years following a tip-off from the Intelligence Bureau.

The Intelligence sources said that Vijay Pal had not, till date, been working in league with ‘big timers,’ he was doing the spying job on his own strength.

“The other side of the hedge is always green,” was the reply of the brother of accused S.P. Sinha, a businessman. He said that the accused, despite being a “very good pilot of helicopters” was not satisfied with the job. There were other problems relating to his promotion.

The businessman said that the lucrative salaries of general managers with private firms always fascinated Vijay Pal. “He left his job for this and, as ill luck would have it, could not get anywhere,” added Mr. Sinha.

“Maybe his only bad habit—drinking—led him into it, guessed Vijay Pal’s brother. His business kept him too busy to interact closely with the accused. Besides, Vijay, seldom came to him.

The squadron leader was staying in a room of a big house at 173, Sector 17, Gurgaon, which belongs to a retired engineer, M.N. Sawani. This particular house is otherwise rented out to the “Haryana Police Housing Corporation Limited.”

The businessman had helped the accused get the room on rent at Rs[rupees]600 per month through a property dealer. The reason, says S.P. Singh, was that Gurgaon was much cheaper compared to Delhi and Vijay Pal was having financial problems.

The property dealer, S.S. Malhotra says that the accused had always faced a financial crunch. “There were two or three occasions when he asked me for loans of Rs 100 to 200,” said Mr. Malhotra.

Mr. Malhotra said that, following the arrest 26 November, he was summoned to Delhi twice.

The first time he went to the CBI office and on the other day to the Police Head Quarters, disclosed the property dealer.

The squadron leader, who is at present in Judicial Custody is a divorcee and was said to be not in touch with his family for the past few years. The investigating agency sources pointed out that it was lust for money which forced him to take to spying.

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